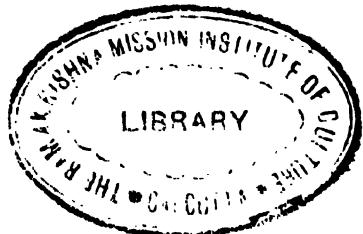
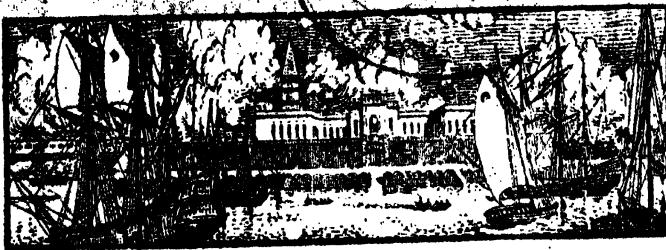


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Vol. X

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January-June, 1915.



BENGAL

PAST & PRESENT

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Serial Nos. 19—20.

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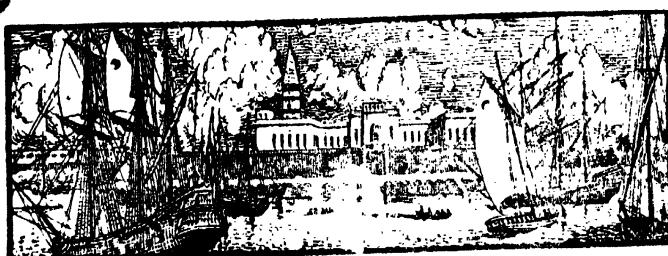
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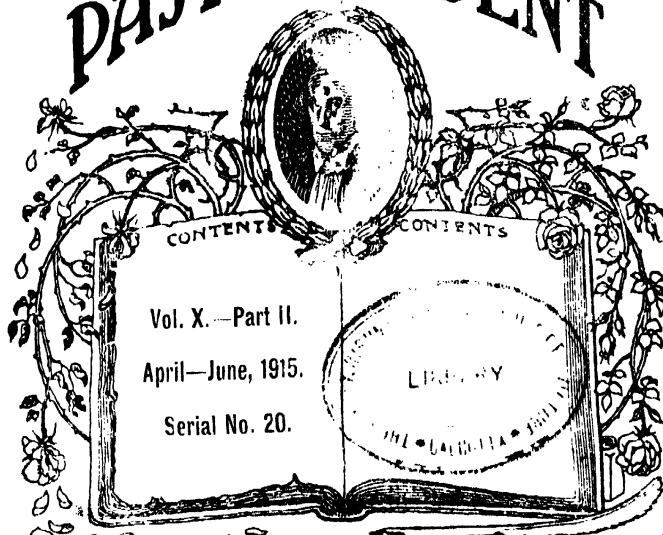
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Corrigendum— Page 187, in line 4 from top *for 26 May read 20 May.*



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Some Notes on Burial Grounds.

I. ARRAH.

In the course of a recent official tour, my attention was called at Arrah to the existence of two closed burial grounds which have escaped the knowledge of the Archdeacon. These are situated each at the end of a tank, close to which in years long past stood the Collector's *kacheri*. Both of these burial grounds are completely walled in, and I had therefore to make use of a ladder to gain admission. In the first, I found six graves with monuments bearing inscriptions.

WILLIAM COWELL, died July 13, 1803 aged 10 months 12 days.

AUGUSTA COWELL, died 1814.

HENRIETTA RATTRAY, died 1807.

CHARLOTTE MURDOCK, died 1810.

EMANUEL DOSSEMEDICS, of Bombay, died Oct. 4, 1807. Aged 53 years.

MATHIAS PETER DESSA, died 1819, aged 35 years 3 months 11 days.

There are also two nameless graves.

In the second burial ground I copied the following inscriptions:

[1]
Sacred
to the Memory
of
CLARA SCOTT WARING
who departed this life
July 24 A. D. 1813.
Aged one year and four months.

[2]
Sacred
to the Memory of
JOHN LEWIS CHAUVENTT Esq.,
Judge and Magistrate
of the District of Shawabad.
Deceased the 15th August 1794
Aged 54 years.

This Stone
 is erected by the desire of his several friends in
 Testimony of their Regard, and as a Mark of their
 Respect
 for his honorable Integrity
 and truly Estimable qualities

Several interesting notices of the Scott Waring family will be found in
 Sydney C. Grier's *Letters of Warren Hastings to his Wife*.

II. CHAPRA.

The sun was setting when I visited the picturesque Dutch Cemetery at Chapra. The beautiful view seen across the tank made me regret the impossibility of taking a photograph. The most prominent object is a tomb which represents a fair sized mosque with miniature minarets. Above the entrance is a stone inscribed

I V H
 Obiit 26 Junie
 anno 1712.

Beside the old Dutch mosque-shaped monument there are several other gigantic Dutch tombs—in ruins and unnamed. The oldest English tombs seem to have been erected on the site of Dutch ones. Here are a few inscriptions :

[1]
 In Memory of
 THOS. BOYLE BOLTON,
 Infant Son of Major Bolton.*
 who died Aug. 25. 1786.
 Aged 10 Months.

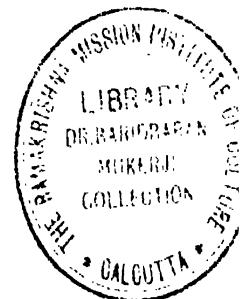
[2]
 In Memory
 of
 EUGENIE DOERING
 of the
 Chapra Mission
 Aged 25.
 Died August 2nd 1866.
 Rev. 14th Chapt. 18th Verse.

Close by is a monument inscribed

In Memory
 of

See Bengal Past & Present. Vol. VII. p. 169.

John Donovan, May 6. 1859.
 John Colston, July 8.
 Alfred Abrey, July 16.
 John Baker, Aug. 24.
 John Tomlin, Oct. 24.
 Seamen of the 15th Indian
 Naval Brigade, who died while
 Stationed at Chapra. A. D. 1859.



Another Monument.—

[*On Face*]
 Sacred to the Memory
 of
 William Brown.
 John Johnson.
 William Brown.
 George Jessop.
 James Johnson.
 Joseph Greenway.
 William Lippingott.
 Pet. Fitzgerald.
 Late of the Naval Brigade
 who departed
 this life
 in Chapra in the year 1859.

(*On one side*).

Sacred to the Memory
 of
 Willm. Bromley.
 John Philips.
 James Wilson.
 Thos. Ranson.
 James Hughes.

[3]

Here lies

MILICENT

The infant Daughter of
 Charles and Elizabeth
 GRAEME.*

Died 1777.

[4]

ALICE JANE, 2nd Daughter of
 Alex. Caruthers and Wife
 of Wm. Maxwell Dixon,
 I. C. S. 17 March, 1846.
 Aged 23 and 4 Months.

Maria Jane only child
 of Wm. Maxwell, died at
 Berhampur Aug. 4. 1846.

III. PURNIAH.

There are at least three European cemeteries at Purneah, but I only had time to visit the one in present use, and but hasten through one of the two closed ones. From the former I gathered the following:—

Here lies the
 Remains of
 MR. HENRY ACKLAND
 Aged 57 Years.

This monument is erected to his Memory by the
 Managers of the Orphan Society. In testi-
 mony to the year and integrity with which he ser-
 ved that Institution upward of eight years
 in the capacity of Secretary.

None of the above inscriptions are given in the *Bengal Obituary*. My notes were made somewhat hastily, but I trust they are correct.

IV. MIDNAPUR.

I paid a brief official visit to Midnapur on Saturday March 27, staying there till Monday the 29th. I was delighted with the fine old house occupied by the Judge in which I was most hospitably entertained by Mr. Delevinge I. C. S. The house most probably has a history attaching to it which would be worth searching for. In the compound there is a monument bearing the following inscription.

Sacred
 To the memory of
 JOHN PEIARCE ESQUIRE,
 Who having Served the
 East India Company

with honor & fidelity for twenty-three years,
 during the last twelve of which he was
 Collector at Midnapore
 departed this life on the 26th May 1788,
 in the 49th year of his age
 Truly lamented as a valuable friend,
 affectionate brother,
 and parent to the indigent.

Composed in suffering, in Joy sedate,
 Good without noise, by faith supremely great,
 Just of thy word, in every thought sincere,
 Who knew no wish but what the world might hear,
 Of softest manners, unaffected mind,
 Lover of peace, & friend of human kind:
 Go live! for Heaven's eternal year is thine;
 Go, and exalt thy mortal to divine.

Pope.

J. Palmer. Selt.

On the back of the monument there is an inscription in Bengali.

The Churchyard of St. John's, Midnapur, is the burial ground at present in use. Unfortunately I here had no time to copy inscriptions, but I copied the following from a tablet on the south wall of the Church

Sacred to the Memory of
 THE REV. FREDERICK FRASER M.A. .
 Chaplain on the Bengal Establishment,
 SUSANNA ANNA, HIS WIFE.
 and PHILIP, their youngest Son,
 who perished by the hands of
 the Rebels of Singhee Rampore,

July, 1857.

There is, I was told, an old burial ground situated in the heart of the bazar, but this I had not time to visit. The most important of the closed cemeteries is the one picturesquely situated beneath the wall of the ancient Maratha (?) fort. I had not time to copy all the inscriptions, and indeed many of the tombs, although otherwise in good order, have lost their inscribed stones. The following were made in haste, but I trust are fairly correctly transcribed.

[1.] Here lieth / the body of JOHN INGLIS, / Lieut. in the 15th Bengal Nafe. Infy., / Eldest Son of John Bellingham Inglis Esqre. / and of Mary Helen, his wife / Grandson of the late John Inglis Esqre. / A Director of the Hon'ble E. I. Company. / His afflicted parents have caused this

stone / to be erected to his Memory. / Born in London on the 8th Day of Feby. 1817. / Died at Kuckra on / the 16th Day of Dec. 1841.

[2.] Sacred / to the Memory / of / THOMAS GALTON, / who departed this life / on the 20th July / 1796 / aged 45 years.

[3.] Here lies interred / the body of / ROSS MOORE ESQUIRE, / Surgeon in the Service of / the Honorable / the East India Company. / Born August the 3rd, 1765. / Died December the 6th, 1806. / This Monument is is erected / by his Widow / as a mark of the / Affection and Respect / which she bears to his memory.

*[4.] Sacred to the Memory of / JOSEPH FEGREDO, / Late Clerk of Zillah Midnapur, who departed this life / 31 March 1803, / aged 40 years 2 months and 6 days. / This tribute of affection for a Revered Husband and tender parent / was erected by his disconsolate widow / Natalia Fegredo.

[5.] Sacred / to the Memory / of / CAPTAIN JOHN HICKLAND, / 1st Battalion 5th N. Regiment, / a Native of Denmark, / who departed this life the 14th August 1806, / aged 49 years. / An honest worthy man.

[6.] MRS. FRANCOISE BOULAROT HICKLAND. / Born at Marsillac in Rovergue 1760. / Died the 4th April 1803. / Her Husband has erected this Monument / a mark of Affection / and Respect / to her / memory.

[7.] Sacred / to the Memory of / LIEUT. COL. CHARLES JACKSON DOVETON, / who died at Midnapore / on the 1st October 1832. / Aged 48 years. / This Tomb is erected in commemoration / of his inestimable worth as a Christian and Soldier, / and as a mark of the paternal regard / of Sir John Arnold K. C. B., / and the filial affection of the officers / of the 38th Regt. N. I.

[8.] This Tomb / is erected by Lieut. Colonel Doveton / and the officers of the 38th Regt. N. I. / as a melancholy proof of esteem and is / Sacred to the memory / of / SURGEON JAMES MACRA died 27 March, 1832, / LIEUT. T. S. MESHAM, died 1st June, / Lieut. C. S. FULLARTON, died 1st June, / ENSN. F. S. MASINGFORD, died 28 May, / CADET J. D. PINDER, died 5th June, / all of the 38th Regt. / who were victims to the climate of / Baumurighattee.

[9.] Sacred to the Memory of / MRS. ELIZABETH SHOW, / who departed this life / on the 2nd of April 1796. / Aged 59 years. / a faithful and virtuous Wife, / an affectionate Mother, / and a sincere Friend. / This Monument was erected / by her afflicted Husband, / Geo. Show, / Deputy Commy. of Ordnance.

* This is one of the largest and perhaps the most costly monument in this Cemetery.

[10.] Sacred / to the Memory of / FRANCES CUMMING, / Wife of Lieut. Robt. Cumming, / who departed this life / Sincerely regretted by her / affectionate Husband, / 30th March 1791. / AE 22.

[11.] To the Memory of / MR. JOHN ALEXANDER, / Assist. Surgeon / on the Bengal Establishment, / who died the first of March, 1792. / Aged XXVIII years.

[12.] Sacred / to the Memory of / MAJOR ANDREW FRASER, / late of the 1st Battalion 25 Regiment N. I., / who departed this life / on the 12th of August, 1812. / This Monument is erected by the officers / of the Corps, as a tribute of Respect to the / Character of the Deceased.

[13.] To the Memory of / the late / CAPTAIN JOHN BRADLEY, / who died at Midnapore, / on the 7th of December, 1795, / Aged XXV years.

[14.] Sacred / to the Memory / of / JOHN HADLEY, / the infant son / of / John Hadley & Mary D'OYLY,* / who departed this life / on the 1st June 1835. / Aged 1 year 5 months and 27 days / The Lord gave and the Lord hath taken away, / Blessed be the name of the Lord.

[15.] Sacred to the Memory / of / ELIZABETH, / the infant daughter of / John & Mary FENDALL, who departed this life on / the 20th June, 1766.

[16.] Sacred / to the Memory of / LIEUTENANT COLONEL / RODERICK FRASER / who departed this life / 8th August, / Anno Domini, 1818.

[17.] Sacred / to / the Memory / of / JOHN KELLEY, / who departed this life / 9th of September, 1803. / Aged 25 years, 8 Ms.

[18.] Sacred / to the Memory of / MARY JANE WARD, / the beloved wife of / Joseph Noverton Revell, Esq., / Born the 5th Jany. 1807 / Died 1st Nov. 1829 / aged 22 years 10 Months.

[19.] To the Memory of / WILLIAM SWAINSTON Esqr., / who departed this life / in the station of Head Assistant / at Midnapore, / on the 13th of August, MDCCXC. / in the fiftieth year of his age, / after having served / the Honorable Company / upwards of seventeen years. / This Monument is with respectful remembrance / erected by his Friend, C. Burrowes.

[20.] In Memory / of THOMAS A. CASPERSZ, / who departed this life / at Midnapore / on the 5th September 1843. / Aged 23 years 2 months / and 26 days.

WALTER K. FIRINGER.

Francis Buchanan-Hamilton

THE name of Dr. Francis Buchanan-Hamilton is well known to all interested in the records, or the history of economic developments of India, and proposals have recently been hinted at for the publication in a complete form of his great "Survey of Bengal," a work which is still in MSS. held in the Library of the India Office.* A note, therefore, by one who is further interested in Francis Buchanan by being a member of the same service and one of the same clan, may be interesting to readers of *Bengal Past and Present*.

Francis Buchanan (the name which he bore throughout his career in India) was born on the 15th February 1762 at Branzit in the parish of Callander, Stirlingshire.

He came of the branch of the Clan Buchanan, known as the Buchanans of Spittal, and as he successfully established, on the 9th July 1829, his right to be Chief of the Clan Buchanan, it is of interest to trace his claims to be the lineal descendant of Walter Buchanan, first of Spittal, and as such the male representative of the family, Buchanan of Buchanan.

Walter Buchanan was the son of the 16th Laird of Buchanan, and in 1529 acquired the lands of Spittal in the County of Dumbarton; those of Arrochymore in 1530, and those of Blairvockie in 1535. He was succeeded as 2nd Laird of Spittal by his son Edward, whose son Robert followed; and was followed by Walter (known as the 1st Laird of Blairvockie), whose son Edward, the 5th Buchanan of Spittal, died in 1666, and was succeeded by his grandson Edward, whose son John became the 7th Laird of Spittal, and was followed by Robert, the 8th Laird, who sold his lands at Spittal to his brother Peter. Peter took his share in the risings of the '45 and "was confined for many months in a loathsome dungeon in Stirling Castle;" on his release "quite broken" (in purse as well as health, we may assume) he too sold his Spittal property in 1753 to Colonel Thomas Buchanan, his brother, an officer in the Dutch Service. Colonel Thomas Buchanan was twice married, and both marriages were of importance to the subject of the present sketch. His first wife was a daughter of the Buchanans of Leny, and his second was Elizabeth, daughter and heiress, of John Hamilton of Burdowie.

Thomas and Elizabeth Buchanan had five sons and two daughters, of whom, Francis was the fourth son. The eldest son died early, the second son John, on his mother's death, succeeded to the estates of Bardowie and in accordance with the terms of the entail assumed the name of Hamilton;

* See above page 168.

*on his father's death this Colonel John Buchanan-Hamilton obtained the paternal estates of Spittal and Leny. John having died without issue, and his other brothers being already dead, the heir would have been Captain Robert Hamilton-Buchanan, Captain in the 24th Regiment of Native Infantry, but he too died, in India, leaving no legitimate descendants. The three estates, therefore, of Spittal, Leny and Bardowie came to Dr. Francis Buchanan, who also assumed the additional name of Hamilton, by which he has since been generally known, and as has been said, he established his claim to be chief of the Clan, as heir to his great-great-great-great-great-grandfather Walter Buchanan of Spittal.

Francis Buchanan received his early education in Glasgow, entering the University there at the then usual very early age. He took his M. A. degree there in 1779 at the age of 17 years.

He then went to Edinburgh to study medicine, and among his teachers were John Hope, Professor of Botany and a friend of Linnæus, Francis Home and Alexander Monro *secundus*. Among his fellow students and friends for life was J. E. (afterwards Sir J. E.) Smith, purchaser of Linnæus' herbarium and the founder of the Linnean Society. As a student Buchanan was known as a keen collector. He took his M. D. degree at Edinburgh in 1783, in his 22nd year. We learn from Lt. Col. D. G. Crawford's *History of the Indian Medical Service* that Francis Buchanan made several voyages to the East as a Ship's Surgeon, then, as now, one of the best ways for a young medico to see the world.

His first voyage was in the ship *Duke of Montrose* to Bombay, which returned to England in 1787; he then made a second voyage to China and Bombay in 1788-89 in the same ship. In 1791-2 he visited the Coromandel Coast and Bengal, and in 1794 came to the East again, to Bengal in the ship *Rose*. These voyages appear to be the foundation for a family tradition that he entered the Royal Navy, and that he left it on account of his bad health. Bad health, at times, no doubt, he had, and he was much at home during the intervals between his four Eastern voyages.

In 1794, however, he entered the E. I. Company's Service as an Assistant Surgeon, and his name is seen at the end of a list of Assistant Surgeons of the Bengal Medical Establishment in the Civil Department "who have made their option for remaining in their present situations," at a time when the question of Civil *vs.* Military Employ was agitating the Medical Service and attracting the attention of Government. (Crawford's *History*, I. pp. 270.)

Francis Buchanan entered the Indian Medical Service on the 26th September 1794, and soon after was attached to the embassy which was deputed under Captain Michael Symes to the Court of Ava. This embassy

left Calcutta on the 21st. February 1795, and after calling at the Andaman reached Rangoon. Symes published in 1800 *An Account of an Embassy to the Kingdom of Ava* and records how valuable as a colleague and delightful as a companion Buchanan was. Buchanan's botanical collections were large and valuable, and during this period was begun his correspondence with Dr. Roxburgh, of the Calcutta Botanic Gardens, many of which letters are still in existence.¹

On his return from Ava Buchanan was posted to Luckipoor (Lakshmpur) in the district of Noakhali. He seemed to have lived six miles away from Luckipoor² at Puttahaut, and stayed there during 1796-97 and most of the year 1798, interesting himself, as it appears from his correspondence with Roxburgh, chiefly with Botany on the banks of the Megna and in the Sunder-bunds and with river fishes, compiling facts which were afterwards to appear in his volume on *The Fishes of the Ganges* (published in 1822). Soon after Buchanan was transferred to Baruipur in the 24 Parganas,³ in the meantime having spent three months in a "charming botanical excursion" in and around Chittagong. In the beginning of 1800 he was on his way to Nepal, but meantime a more important opening for him had appeared. His friend Roxburgh on his way back from the Cape, had an interview with Lord Clive in Madras and had strongly recommended Francis Buchanan as the proper person to undertake an important and comprehensive survey of the newly acquired territories in Mysore, etc. This recommendation was approved of by the Marquis of Wellesley, so Buchanan spent from early in 1800 to July 1801 in journeying through and surveying Mysore. In May 1800 he met Colonel Arthur Wellesley, then a Sepoy General, but destined to be the Iron Duke, of whose abilities he formed a very high opinion.

Buchanan had hardly returned to Calcutta after his Mysore survey, when he was appointed to accompany the embassy sent to Nepal under Captain Knox.

He spent some 14 months in Nepal in and around Khatmandu, collecting all the information he could prudently obtain in view of the jealous Nepal Government. On his return to Calcutta with the Mission in 1803, he reverted to his old appointment at Baruipur; but during the next cold weather 1803-4 he joined the staff of the Governor-General as Surgeon; and Buchanan found congenial employment in managing, indentifying and studying the

¹ See Sir. D. Prain's *Sketch of the Life of Francis Hamilton (once Buchanan)*, Calcutta; Bengal Secretariat Press, 1905, to which we are greatly indebted for many facts in this note.

² Luckipoor—Laksmipur, a village in the Sadr subdivision of Noakhali. The E. I. Co. had established a cloth factory there in 1756.

³ Baruipore, a small busy town, 15 miles south of Calcutta; up till 1883 the headquarters of a subdivision, since then amalgamated with Alipore, 24 Parganas.

animals collected by the Governor-General in the menagerie he had formed at Barrackpore. Towards the end of 1805 Buchanan accompanied Lord Wellesley on his retirement to England.

The Court of Directors was so favourably impressed with his previous work that they nominated him as the eventual successor of Dr. Roxburgh at the Botanic Gardens, Sibpur; meantime, however, he was to be employed in making a survey of the territories which formed the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal.

He returned, therefore, to Calcutta early in 1807, and soon received promotion to the rank of Surgeon, on 20th June 1807.

"A more comprehensive programme than this Bengal Survey was probably never entrusted (writes Sir David Prain) to any single officer in or out of India, and it is equally probable that no officer better qualified than Francis Buchanan to undertake the task ever lived."

Buchanan was employed on this great survey from the rainy season of 1807 till the hot weather of 1814, and when the high quality of the work is considered it is a marvel that he accomplished so much as he did. He began with the Dinajpur District, part of which is now Assam; he then worked through Bhagalpur and Purnea Districts, up to the borders of Nepal. Next he took up the districts of Patna, Gaya and Shahabad, and journeyed up the rivers Ganges and Jumna as far as Allahabad and Agra, finally surveying the Gorakpur District. He returned to Calcutta by river from Fatehgarh, and prepared to return to Europe.

We need not enter into the somewhat controversial episodes of the removal of Roxburgh from his post in the Botanic Gardens, or the temporary appointment of Mr. H. T. Colebroke to that post. Buchanan was finally appointed as Superintendent of the Botanic Gardens on the 5th March 1814.

Buchanan's tenure of this office was brief. His health had been impaired by his long survey work, and he handed over charge to his friend, Dr. Nathaniel Wallich on the 24th February 1815.¹

Buchanan sailed home in the ship *Marchioness of Ely*, and he formally retired from the post of Superintendent of the Botanic Gardens and from the Medical Service on the 14th August 1816, while at home.

Buchanan in applying for leave home at the same time asked for official sanction to take with him the whole of his collections for presentation to the Court of Directors. The Vice-President in Council had granted permission, but when all had been packed in readiness to be put on board, the Governor-General, the Earl of Moira, (afterwards Marquis of Hastings) rather

¹ N. Wallich was superseded soon after by Dr. James Hare who was replaced by Dr D. T. Casey, and Wallich was not formally reinstated in his appointment till the 1st. August 1817.

suddenly and peremptorily refused his sanction and ordered the return of all the articles, an order which has been the occasion for considerable controversy and has been fully discussed in the *Calcutta Review* (July 1894), and by Sir David Prain in the *Sketch* already referred to.

On his return home Buchanan did not stay long in London, but soon went north to his own county, and early in 1816 on the death of his nephew Capt. Hamilton Buchanan in India, he succeeded to the Buchanan properties as his brother's heir and made his home at the Bardowie Mansion. Some years later in his 59th year (in 1821) he married Katherine Brooke and had two children, a daughter who died unmarried in 1836, and a son who ultimately succeeded to the family estates and died in 1903.¹ In 1826 Francis Buchanan was made a Deputy Lieutenant for the County of Perth and began the steps that made himself recognised as head of the house of Spittal, as already recorded.²

In his *Sketch* Sir David Prain has enumerated a long list of 62 publications by Francis Buchanan. These include numerous monographs and articles in various scientific periodicals; his great works are the *Survey of Mysore* (3 Vols. London 1807). *An Account of Nepal* (1 Vol. Edinburgh 1819). *The District of Dinajpur* (1 Vol. Calcutta 1833). *The Fishes of the Ganges* (Edinburgh 1822) and the great *Survey of Eastern India* which appeared in three volumes in 1838 under the name of Montgomery Martin.

The whole of the Buchanan documents in MSS. at the India Office, were not published by Martin. The latter only used those in which he was personally interested and omitted much he was not capable of appreciating. Martin's work was also marred by the then fashionable lengthy title page which, however, gave no clue to the authorship of the "original documents" he edited or rather extracted. Beveridge and Sir David Prain are content to acquit Martin of anything more serious than stupidity; he had at any rate very rudimentary ideas of his duties as an Editor.

Francis Hamilton ("once Buchanan" as Sir David Prain rather quaintly calls him) died at Leny on the 15th June 1829.

W. J. BUCHANAN.

¹ The present chief of the clan is Francis Buchanan's grandson, Mr. J. Hamilton-Buchanan of Spittal and Leny, who resides at Leny House, near Callander. (See *Scottish Country Life*; April 1915, p. 160).

² Long before this on the 1st May 1806 Buchanan had been made a Fellow of the Royal Society, being the first officer of the I. M. S. to attain to that honour *while* still a member of the Service on the active list. (Crawford, *op. cit.* ii. 216.)

Early History of St. Andrew's Kirk, Calcutta.

THE Anglo-Indian Presbytery was created by the Charter of 1813 along with the Anglo-Indian Episcopate. Its early days in Calcutta were full of unpleasant controversies between the Government and the redoubtable minister who came to give effect to the wishes of the Home Authorities. The Honourable the Court of Directors in a Public General letter, dated the 12th November 1813, informed the Governor-General of the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal as follows :—

"In order to show our desire to encourage by every prudent means in our power the extension of the principles of the Christian Religion in India, we have unanimously resolved that an addition be made to the present Clerical Establishment maintained by the Company at each of our Presidencies of Bengal, Madras and Bombay, of one minister of the Church of Scotland with the same salary as is granted to the Junior Chaplain at each of the Presidencies, and we direct that a suitable place of worship be provided or erected at each of our Principal Settlements of Bengal, Madras and Bombay for those Ministers of the Church of Scotland whom we may permit to proceed to India to act as Chaplains at either of those places."

This was followed by another letter, dated the 4th November 1814, intimating the appointment of the Revd. Dr. James Bryce as a chaplain on the Bengal Ecclesiastical establishment. Dr. J. Bryce reported his arrival in Calcutta on the 28th November 1814,* and asked for instructions to enable

* On the 11th April 1814 Dr. James Bryce was appointed by the Court of Directors to be the first minister of St. Andrew's Church in Calcutta. For this appointment he was recommended to the Court by the fact of his having gained the prize offered by Dr. Claudio Buchanan to the members of the University of Aberdeen for an essay on the best means of evangelising India. The Scotch Chaplain left England in the same ship which brought out the first Bishop of the Indian Episcopate. He arrived in Calcutta on the 28th November 1814 and at once became the editor and the managing proprietor of the weekly newspaper of Calcutta, the *Asiatic Mirror*. His fight with the Government Censor is an important episode of Indian journalism that eventually led to the abolition of the office of Censor by Lord Hastings in 1818. In 1819 his health broke down, and he left Calcutta on furlough for two years. The *Asiatic Mirror* was consequently abandoned and sold to the proprietors of the *Bengal Harkaru*. In 1821 he returned to Calcutta and started "John Bull in the East" as a rival organ to Buckingham's *Calcutta Journal*, and the well-known periodical, *Oriental Magazine and Calcutta Review*. The new paper became "the supporter of Church and King, the conumer of private scandals, the counterpoise of the pernicious

him to enter upon his duties of Clergyman of the Church of Scotland at the Presidency. The Government thereupon, in its Resolution of the 6th December 1814, No. 29, nominated the gentlemen as noted below* to form a Committee for the purpose of suggesting to Government the measures they would recommend to be adopted to give effect to the intentions of the Honourable the Court of Directors in appointing a Minister of the Church of Scotland to perform Divine Service at the Presidency of Bengal, and requested them to assemble at such time and place as would be convenient to themselves to take the subject into their consideration and to report their sentiments for the information and orders of the Vice-President in Council.

The Committee forwarded its report, dated the 17th December 1814, in which they said :—"the Committee are proceeding to ascertain as nearly as possible the extent of congregation for whom it will be required to erect a Church—that in the opinion of the Committee, it will be expedient that, in the meantime, a temporary place of worship should be provided, and that the Hall of the College [of Fort William]† appears to them a place in every respect suited for this purpose. The Committee have learnt with much pleasure that the proposal of appropriating the Hall to this purpose meets the approbation of the College Council. Should it also be approved of by Government the Committee beg leave to suggest that Divine Service after the forms of the Church of Scotland should commence being performed there on Sunday, the 1st of January, 1815." This proposal was accepted by Government.

In a communication of the 28th January 1815, the Committee made suggestions for the selection of a site for the church, and in reply the Committee was asked to suggest to Government an arrangement for the performance of Divine Service until a suitable place could be provided for the purpose. The Revd. Dr. James Bryce was also informed of the above with reference to his representation about the inconvenience caused to the Presbyterian community by the absence of a suitable place of worship. Thereupon Dr. Bryce wrote at great length imputing to Government unnecessary delay in providing a church, and declining the performance of

influence of other journals.' For several years this paper remained the mouth-piece of the Indian Civil Service and of the large Government party at Calcutta. In 1828 the Court of Directors having sent out peremptory orders calling upon their servants in India to cease all connection with the public Press, Dr. Bryce was compelled to part with his share in the "John Bull in the East" and the *Oriental Magazine*. Thus ended his journalistic career which is more remarkable than his holy profession. In 1823 he first attracted the attention of the Church of Scotland towards India as a promising field for spiritual welfare. This eventually gave rise to the India Mission of the Church of Scotland of which Dr. Alexander Duff was the first Missionary.

* Major Wood, Mr. A. Trotter, Revd. J. Bryce, Dr. J. McWhirter, and Mr. G. Mercer.

† Well-known in old Calcutta as Exchange and Assembly Rooms. See *Bengal Past & Present*, Vol. VIII, pp. 219-23.

Public Service until a proper building had been provided for the accommodation of the members of the Presbyterian Communion of, or until such a building was in actual progress. The Vice-President in Council, after explaining the cause of delay in commencing the construction of a Church, expressed a hope that Dr. Bryce on reflection would be induced to alter his resolution and consent to perform Divine Service in the best temporary place that could be procured for the accommodation of the Scottish congregation. The correspondence was also furnished to the Secretary to the Governor-General who communicated his remarks in the letter of the 30th May on Dr. Bryce's conduct in declining to perform Divine Service and stated that Dr. Bryce had misled himself by referring to his own arrangements with the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, and that the Honourable Court was no party to the agreement entered into by him and the General Assembly, and Dr. Bryce was requested by a formal order to hold service in the College Hall at the regular times, until further orders.

About the time when the above correspondence was taking place Dr. Bryce submitted, in connection with another matter, *viz.*, the question of the validity of marriages celebrated by the Scotch Chaplains, a copy of the Proceedings of a meeting of the Ministers and Elders of the Church of Scotland in the General Assembly, an extract therefrom is given below:—

Extract from the Proceedings of a meeting of the Ministers and Elders of the Church of Scotland in the General Assembly of the National Church held at Edinburgh the 13th May 1814.

"We the Ministers and Elders of the Church of Scotland met in the General Assembly of the National Church * * * enjoin the said three Chaplains and the Ministers of the Church of Scotland who may be permitted to proceed to India as their successors in performing Divine Service and administering the ordinances of Religion within the Churches provided for their several congregations to conform to the worship now practised in the Church of Scotland and empower and direct them without delay to select from their several congregations persons whom they judge qualified for the office of Eldership, and to admit them to that office in the manner prescribed by the Acts of Assembly with whom each of the said three Ministers at the Presidency where he acts as Chaplain may hold Session for the exercise of discipline in his congregation according to the rules of the Church and for the management of Ecclesiastical affairs of his congregation, recommend to the several Ministers and their Kirk Sessions to hold brotherly correspondence with one another according to circumstances, and as they may judge best for edification, declare that the several Ministers and their Kirk Sessions are subject to the Ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Presbytery of Edinburgh to whom they are directed to refer any difficulties which they may find themselves

unable to solve, or any dispute which may unfortunately arise amongst them, empower the three Chaplains and their Kirk Sessions to write in any manner that they may find expedient in sending one Minister and one Elder as their representatives to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, which representatives upon producing satisfactory documents of their election, we will admit to sit, vote and determine, with us from whom we may have the satisfaction of learning the prosperity of this distant branch of the Church of Scotland and through whom we may communicate such advice and directions as its circumstances may require.

This deliverance of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, subscribed by our Moderator and Clerk, we direct the principal Clerk of the Church to send to the Revd. J. Bryce * * * and an authentic copy of this Deliverance we appoint Mr. Bryce to transmit to each of the two Ministers acting as Chaplains at the two Presidencies of Madras and Bombay for their government and directions.

DAVID RITCHIE, *Moderator.*

ANDREW DUNCAN, *Cl. Eccl. Scot.*

In his letter of the 13th May 1815, Dr. Bryce in asking for leave home requested that if the Vice-President in Council saw proper to take any further measures regarding the erection of a church for the members of the Church of Scotland at Calcutta during his absence, that the members of the Kirk Session would have the honour of receiving the commands of Government on the subject. On the 20th May he submitted a memorial addressed to the Court of Directors on the subject of the delay in providing a church, but it was not transmitted. There was no reference in this memorial to the Kirk Session.

The Government in its letter, dated the 3rd November 1815, to the Committee intimated its intention of constructing a place of worship for the Members of the Church of Scotland at the Presidency of a size sufficient to contain 300 persons, and requested them to fix on such a site for the building as they considered best suited for the purpose and to invite plans for the Church with estimates of the expense and to submit them with their observations. It was also added that the Asiatic Society of Bengal were pleased to grant the use of the house appropriated for their meetings to Dr. Bryce as a temporary place of worship until a church should be constructed.

The Committee in due course reported their views in regard to a site and submitted a plan of a church to seat 300 persons and stated that on the most accurate estimate the expense would amount to about one lakh and a half of Rupees. They at the same time mentioned that "the Clergyman and members of the Kirk Session" were anxious that the foundation of the new

church should, if possible, be laid on St. Andrew's day, the 30th November 1815.

The Government in its letter of the 25th November 1815, intimated its decision to allot as a site for the church the plot of ground belonging to it,* east of Writers' Buildings, and requested the Committee to make the necessary communication to the "Kirk Session" in order that they might make the requisite arrangements for laying, agreeably to their application, the foundation stone of the Scottish Church on the 30th November 1815, the day of St. Andrew's. It was stated in this letter that the Governor-General in Council could not sanction in addition to the Rs. 30,000, the estimated value of the ground, of a larger grant than one of a lakh of Rupees, that although this sum might prove insufficient to complete a building according to the plan submitted by the Committee, yet the intention of the Honourable Court could be met by the sum in question, that should, however, the Kirk Session be anxious to prosecute the work according to the plan, it was suggested, in consequence of a private communication from Dr. Bryce, that the balance required might be raised by contribution from the members of the Church of Scotland, or on the credit of the revenues derived from the seat rents and other sources connected with the church. And that "in the event of the Kirk Session wishing to adopt the latter arrangement His Lordship in Council will immediately grant a credit to them of one lakh of Rupees on the General Treasury their agreeing to complete a building in conformity to the plan and to act as a Committee for carrying on the work. This donation, however, on the part of Government must be received by the Session on the express understanding, that Government is in no way to be answerable for any further charge on account of the church either now or hereafter." Dr. Bryce was requested to lay the above letter before the Kirk Session with all the correspondence between the Committee and the Government on the subject of the construction of the proposed church; and the Committee which was first formed was then dissolved.

Dr. Bryce acknowledged the letter on the 15th February 1816, and said that he had laid it before the Kirk Session of St. Andrews. He added in their name "that the members of the Session felt themselves highly honoured by the office to which Government had been pleased to appoint them and were ready to enter immediately on its discharge on the terms of the said letter of November 25th." He also requested on behalf of the members of the Session that the name of Mr. Charles Milner Ricketts, then Chief Secretary to Government might be added to the Committee. The

* i.e. the site of the old Court House.

Government approved of the proposal to add the name of Mr. Ricketts to the Committee for carrying on the building of St. Andrew's Church.

The Accountant-General was informed, in letter dated the 17th February 1816, that the Governor-General in Council had been pleased to subscribe on the part of the Honourable Company the sum of sicca Rupees one lakh in addition to Rs. 30,000 the estimated value of the ground for the purpose of building a suitable place of worship for the congregation of the Church of Scotland.

Dr. Bryce in his letter, dated the 25th January 1816, informed the Government that the Kirk Session of St. Andrew's Church had procured the Hall of the Old College, Tank Square, from the 1st January 1816, at a monthly rent of Rs. 500, and that while occupying the upper part as a temporary place of worship they let the lower floor of the house at a monthly rent of Rs. 250. He also stated that several expenses had been incurred by him since his arrival in the country, in procuring a pulpit, chairs and other necessary articles for the accommodation of the clergyman and hearers and in fitting up the hall with pews and requested instructions as to the manner in which they should be defrayed. He was informed in reply that the Government sanctioned the arrangement made by the Kirk Session for the appropriation of the upper floor of the old College Hall as a temporary place of worship and the disposal of the lower part, and that the Sub-Treasurer would accordingly be desired to pay monthly to the Kirk Session the sum of sicca Rs. 250, being the actual expense to be incurred on the above account. With reference to the other expenses he was requested to submit a statement of them with an explanation of the circumstances which rendered the expenses necessary.

Dr. Bryce in reply forwarded a statement in detail of the expenses incurred by him on account of the foundation of St. Andrew's Church, the erection of a pulpit, etc., and requested the appointment of a Clerk and Beadle. He was informed in reply* that an order would be issued on the General Treasury for the sum of Rs. 1,064-7-6 to enable him to pay the amount to the Kirk Session on account of the expenses incurred, and told that the allowances of the Clerk and Beadle, whom he stated to be necessary to entertain on the establishment of the Kirk, could not properly become a charge on the Honourable Company, but that it should be defrayed from the rents of the pews, the amount of which from the extent of the congregation must be considered sufficient to defray all the ordinary expenses of the Kirk.

Dr. Bryce in his letter of the 12th March 1816, reported for the information of Government that a regular register of the Marriages and

* Letter dated 16th March 1816.

Baptisms solemnized at St. Andrew's Church was kept under the authority and superintendence of the Kirk Session and stated in his letter of the 12th February 1816 that in obedience to the orders contained in the Charter* granted by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland to the Scotch chaplains in British India and under which the clergymen and members of the church, resident in India, were retained in full communion and participation of her ecclesiastical privileges, he had constituted a Kirk Session for the regulation of ecclesiastical matters connected with her establishment at that Presidency.

On the 29th March 1816, under the direction of the Committee for supervising the building of St. Andrew's Church, Dr. Bryce requested payment to Messrs. Burn, Currie and Co. of the part instalment of 40,000 sicca Rupees due to them on terms of the contract with the Kirk Session. Similar requests were subsequently made for the second and third instalments of Rs. 30,000 each.

In May 1816, Dr. Bryce, in the name of the Kirk Session, reiterated the request for payment from the Public Treasury of the Ecclesiastical Establishment of St. Andrews Church and explained that the ordinary funds of the church received from seat rents were previously pledged for expenses attending the fitting up of the hall as a temporary place of worship, for expenses incurred in regard to the new church previous to entering into the contract, and for the Communion plate purchased by the Session.

In his letter of December 1816, Dr. Bryce requested, in the name of the Committee for supervising the building of St. Andrew's Church, the issue of orders for passing through the Custom House the marble commissioned by the Committee for paving the church, free of the usual duties, and the Government issued instructions accordingly.

In January 1817, for the third time by the direction of the Kirk Session, Dr. Bryce, who signed himself "as Moderator of the Kirk Session of St. Andrew's Church" repeated the request for the allotment from the Public Treasury of the monthly sum of sicca Rs. 290 for the support of the necessary establishment of officers and peons attached to the Scotch Church of Calcutta stating that the burden upon the funds of the church was very heavy, and that its revenue would prove altogether inadequate for enabling them to fulfil their engagements if the monthly expenditure of Rs. 290 had to be met from it. He at the same time stated that, in estimating this expense at the rate of Rs. 290 per month, the Kirk Session

* This was sent to the Government in original and seems from the note on the reverse of Consultation of 23rd March 1816, No. 41, to have been sent to the Sub-Treasurer on the 22nd March.

had placed it on as economical a scale as possible when compared with the expense incurred by Government for a similar purpose on the Episcopal Establishment and hoped that the Kirk Session would not be thought extravagant or unreasonable in their proposal. The Government, in its reply of the 18th January 1817, authorized him to draw the sum of sicca Rs. 234 monthly for the establishment of the church which was equal to the amount of the permanent allowance granted to the Old Church subject to the approval of the Court of Directors.

In his letter of the 28th February 1817, Dr. Bryce requested to be put in possession of a house or such sum as would have been consistent with his situation in society, for his residence, but he was told in reply that the Governor-General in Council did not think himself authorized to provide a house for his private accommodation at the public expense or to grant him a house allowance.

Dr. Bryce, in his letter dated the 31st January 1818, reported to Government in the name of the Kirk Session of St. Andrew's Church that the new church was ready to be opened for the performance of Divine Service, and that it was proposed that public worship should commence in it sometime in the month of February. He added—

"In the execution of the duty entrusted to the Kirk Session a very considerable sum of money amounting to between sixty and seventy thousand rupees over and above the lakh of rupees granted from the Public Treasury has been required. About one half of this sum, the Session have succeeded, as they anticipated, in raising by voluntary contributions. The other constitutes a debt with which the revenues of the church stand charged. The money thus raised has been laid out by the Session in marbling the aisles of the building, in procuring from England an organ for the public service of the church, in carrying the spire to its present height* and finishing it in its present elegant form, and also in providing for the lighting of the church for evening service. A very considerable expense has also been incurred by the Session in altering the premises of Messrs. Stewart & Co., in order to procure admittance for carriages to the north end of the church and in erecting an iron and brick enclosure around the site.

* "In the celebrated 'steeple' controversy also, the pugnacious Dr. Bryce was again victorious. The vexation of Mr. Le Bas (biographer of Bishop Middleton) in relating this fresh instance of Presbyterian presumption, is not a little amusing. "St. Andrew's Church in Calcutta," writes he, "is a much more stately fabric than St. John's Cathedral, while the Scotch Church at Madras is, perhaps, the noblest Christian edifice in Hindustan. It was built after the model of a Church in Italy, with two fine domes, and to these, was added a spire, *which, like that at Calcutta, above the steeple of every English place of worship.*" Tradition says that Dr. Bryce placed the gilt cock on the steeple of St. Andrew's Church, Calcutta, to crow for all time over Bishop Middleton.

"I am directed by the Session respectfully to express their hopes that when the Hon'ble Vice-President in Council takes into consideration the highly useful as well as ornamental additions which the Kirk Session have thus been enabled to make to the building, and which becomes from this time the property of the Hon'ble Company, it will appear to Government no unreasonable request, on the part of the Session, to beg that the monthly sum now allowed to the church, out of the Public Treasury, under the heads of *Office Establishment* and *House-rent* may be continued. The Session need scarcely observe that to support and keep in order a building of so superior a kind, a considerable sum of money will necessarily be requisite, and they venture to indulge a hope that the sum* presently allowed of four hundred and eighty-four rupees per mensem will not appear to the Honourable Vice-President in Council as exorbitant.

"The Kirk Session further beg leave respectfully to state to Government that while the revenue of the church is burthened, as it must be for some time with a debt of Rs. 30,000, the Session would find it impossible to defray the necessary expense and at the same time provide for the liquidation of this debt. This revenue, the Session think, may on a moderate calculation be estimated at Rs. 500 per month. Should it appear advisable to the Honourable the Vice-President in Council to continue to the Session the present monthly allowance of Rs. 484, under the proviso that, at the liquidation of the debt, one moiety of this ordinary expense, shall be charged upon the ordinary revenues of the church, the Kirk Session will use all manner of diligence in providing for the extinction of this debt and will do themselves the honour of reporting to Government so soon as the revenue of the church is disburthened of the debt which has been contracted."

The Government in its reply of the 27th February 1818, wrote:—

"In reply I am directed to observe that when the Government resolved to grant the sum of sicca Rs. 1,00,000 towards building St. Andrew's Church in addition to the value of the ground on which it has been constructed estimated at sicca Rs. 30,000, this sum, (which was considered sufficient for the construction of a suitable church) was received by the Kirk Session on the express understanding that the Honourable Company was in no respect to be answerable for any further charge on account of the church. The Government at the same time expressed its conviction that the intentions of the Honourable the Court of Directors would be fully met by a grant to the above amount. With reference to these circumstances and to the consideration that a great part of the debt incurred appears to be composed of charges for the

* Rs. 250 for the upper floor of the old College Hall.

Rs. 234 Establishment Allowance.

13696.

Total 484.

ornamental part of the building the Vice-President in Council cannot consider that the Kirk Session is entitled to look to Government for pecuniary assistance, to enable it to provide for the extinction of that debt. The Vice-President in Council therefore regrets that he is precluded from complying with the request preferred in your letter for continuing to the Session the sum hitherto drawn by them for house-rent. This allowance will accordingly cease from the end of the present month.

"As, however, the grant of the sicca Rs. 234, for establishment, was made subject to the confirmation of the Honourable the Court of Directors, to whom a report has been submitted on the subject the Vice-President in Council authorizes the Kirk Session to draw that sum until the pleasure of the Court be known."

Dr. Bryce then applied in the name of the Kirk Session for the appropriation to them of the proceeds or such part of the proceeds of the lottery which was kept up at the Presidency as would have liquidated the debt against the church, and stated that such an appropriation was strictly within the legitimate objects for which the lottery was kept up, as the building for which it was asked was undoubtedly one of the greatest improvements in the city of Calcutta. In reply it was explained to him for what purposes the funds derived from such lotteries were intended, and he was informed that, however, glad the Vice-President in Council would be were it in his power to afford assistance to the Kirk Session, he regretted that he did not feel himself justified in acceding to his application.

In his letter dated 29th July 1818 to the Government Dr Bryce after making a comparison between the allowance of Rs. 234 on account of establishment made to the Scotch Church, and that of Rs. 912 granted to the English Cathedral for the same purpose including an Organist, requested that, as the Honourable Court of Directors had permitted a gentleman to proceed to Calcutta to discharge the duties of Organist at the Scotch Church, a competent salary might be allotted to him by Government. In reply he was informed that the Government were unable to accede to his request, but that they would submit the matter for the consideration of the Honourable Court, and a memorial on the subject from Dr. Bryce was subsequently forwarded to the Honourable Court.

In August 1818 the Committee appointed to superintend the building of St. Andrew's Church, reported the completion of the work and submitted their accounts showing a debit balance against the church of Rs. 33, 828-7-0.* They added that this amount did not include the cost of the organ

•	1,35,571	1	0
1,01,742	10	0	
33,828	7	0	

nor of the marble with which the floor was laid as "the Members of the Church of Scotland at this Presidency" had "at their own expense bestowed them upon the Church of the Honourable Company." The Committee also asked that their accounts might be audited and suggested that a part of the funds arising from the Public Lotteries might be devoted towards paying off the debt. None of these proposals were accepted by the Government.

The Court of Directors in their Despatch of the 22nd August 1821 noticed the correspondence referred to above. In paragraph 9 of the Despatch they stated.—

"We cannot give our consent to the allowance of Rs. 234 per month which you have granted provisionally for the maintenance of an establishment to the church, we have already rejected a similar application from the Members of the Scotch Church at Madras."

And in the succeeding paragraphs they expressed surprise at Dr. Bryce's application for the continuance, after the completion of the church, of the house-rent of Rs. 250 per mensem granted for the provision of a temporary place of worship while the church was in course of construction, and approved of the refusal given by Government to appropriate a part of the Lottery towards the liquidation of the debt of the church incurred by the Kirk Session and to entertain the proposal of the Session that Government should take upon itself the liquidation of the debt, on the Session engaging to pay the seat rents into the Government Treasury until the amount due should be made good. The proposal to allot an adequate salary to the Organist of St. Andrew's Church was also negatived by the Court which remarked "that we did not as asserted by Dr. Bryce permit Mr. Alsagar to proceed to Calcutta to discharge the duties of Organist of St. Andrew's Church, but to proceed to your presidency and to remain there as an Organist, the Company being at no expense thereby."

On receipt of the above the Kirk Session in its letter of the 3rd October 1822 addressed the Government thus:—

"In again addressing the Governor-General in Council on the affairs of the Scottish Church at this Presidency, the Kirk Session of St. Andrew's Church beg leave to state that it is not without the greatest reluctance that they feel themselves obliged so often to intrude upon the attention of Government. But they humbly trust, that His Lordship in Council will recognise in the distressing state of embarrassment in which they are placed, a necessity for this intrusion which it is beyond the power of the Kirk Session to control.

"They beg leave at the same time to add, that should His Lordship in Council in compliance with the instructions of the Honourable Court of Directors feel himself under the necessity of withdrawing the allowance formerly granted for the support of the necessary establishment of church

officers while the debt now existing remains a burden on the revenues and property of St. Andrews, they are altogether at a loss to perceive how Divine Service can be conducted in it.

"The Kirk Session would now request the attention of His Lordship in Council to the establishment absolutely necessary to the due and becoming performance of Divine Worship at St. Andrew's Church. They do not consider it necessary to direct the notice of Government to the servants required for keeping the church clean and cool during the hot weather. But they beg leave to state that besides these a Precentor to conduct the Psalmody in Church and a Church Officer, corresponding in duty to the Sexton and Verger of the Episcopal Establishment, are necessary in the Presbyterian Polity. They likewise crave leave to observe that the Kirk Session of St. Andrew's Church form one of the lower judicatories of the Church of Scotland, from which there lies an appeal to the higher, and that they are consequently bound to keep a record of their ecclesiastical proceedings. They therefore respectfully submit that a Session Clerk, to keep this record and to grant authentic extracts from it, is also an officer so essential to their existence as a Church Court that without him these proceedings would not only be imperfect but the Session humbly apprehend illegal.

"Having thus taken the liberty of enumerating the officers required in our Presbyterian Polity, with the nature and extent of their duties, the Kirk Session venture to declare their conviction that Government cannot regard the rate of allowances formerly granted to these officers as on a scale that is exorbitant, when viewed with a reference to the value of money in this country or as compared with the office establishment of the Cathedral and Old Church.

"The Kirk Session further beg leave to state that the case of the Scotch Church at Madras referred to by the Honourable Court of Directors is far from parallel to that of St. Andrew's Church of Calcutta. The Session are informed that at Madras the whole expense of the building was defrayed out of the Public Treasury. No subscriptions in aid of the object were raised among the Presbyterian population of that Presidency and no money borrowed in order to complete it on the credit of the revenues or property of the church. But the Kirk Session beg leave to recall to the recollection of His Lordship in Council, that a sum of one Lakh of Rupees was originally granted to the Kirk Session of Calcutta, that subscriptions were obtained to the amount of nearly half a Lakh and a debt now amounting with interest to Sicca Rupees nearly 80,000 incurred by the Kirk Session under sanction of Government.

"At the outset of the Scotch Ecclesiastical Establishment in this country the Kirk Session flattered themselves that after receiving the lakh of Rupees so liberally bestowed on them, they would themselves have been able to complete

the edifice without burdening it with any debt. In this hope they are sorry to say they have been disappointed.

"The Kirk Session have had the honour of receiving a communication from the Hon'ble Company's Attorney with an extract from a letter of the Hon'ble Court of August 1821 directing that the Church shall be assigned to Trustees under certain stipulations laid down by the Hon'ble Court. The Session crave permission to remark that, while the debt is unpaid, the obstacles which stand in the way of the assignment directed appear to be unsurmountable. They would observe that the Kirk Session, acting under arrangements made with the sanction of Government, have vested rights as third parties upon which such assignment might be found most materially to trench. But the Kirk Session beg leave to observe that they are sincerely desirous to see the church of St. Andrew placed upon such a footing, as to render impossible its alienation to any other purpose, than that of divine service according to the form of the Church of Scotland and that as the existing debt can be regarded as the only obstacle in the way of this desirable object they venture to express a confident hope that His Excellency the Governor-General in Council will be pleased to remove this obstacle.

"The Kirk Session further beg leave to observe that should His Excellency the Governor-General in Council be pleased to liquidate the debt every day becoming a greater and greater burden upon St. Andrew's Church the monthly allowance of 234 Sicca rupees hitherto granted will be saved to the Public Treasury as the produce of seat rents when relieved from payment of interest of debt will be fully adequate to defray the expense of the necessary office establishment."

The Government replied to the above in its letter of 6th October 1822, and stated that it would recommend to the Honourable Court the liquidation of the debt of the church, but pending the Court's determination the Government offered either to restore the monthly establishment allowance of Rs. 234 or to advance a sum to them equal to the amount of the debt on their giving sufficient security for refunding the amount with interest should the Home Government not sanction the arrangement. It was suggested, however, that the latter proposal might be modified so that Government might advance only such a proportion of the sum as would liquidate any part of the debt standing at a high interest while the allowance of Rs. 234 monthly should be continued. The Kirk Session accepted this suggestion and asked for Rs. 60,000; the payment of the interest and ultimate discharge of the remainder of the debt it was intended should be met from the produce of the seat rents. The reason for their fixing upon the sum of Rs. 60,000 was explained to be that while the debt existed upon the church, a right in the property and revenues to that amount would be regarded as vested in the Kirk Session in virtue of the

donations given to them by the members of the Church of Scotland at the Presidency. They further stated that in the event of the Honourable Court declining to sanction these arrangements the Kirk Session would relinquish to Government every right and title in the above property. The allowance on account of the establishment was restored from the 1st November 1822. The Government, however, regretted its inability to advance the amount of Rs. 60,000 towards the liquidation of the debt as the security was not considered satisfactory, but promised that it would recommend for the favourable consideration of the Court of Directors the application of the Kirk Session to be relieved from their embarrassment.

The securities subsequently offered by the Kirk Session were accepted by the Government, in its letter of 17th October 1822, and the Session was informed that an order on the General Treasury for sicca Rs. 80,000 would be issued in favour of the Sub-Treasurer to pay to them on the securities executing an engagement for the repayment of the amount with interest if the Court of Directors refused to sanction the advance. The monthly allowance of Rs. 234 was withdrawn at the same time.

The application of the Kirk Session together with the subsequent correspondence on the subject of the debt of the church and the establishment allowance was forwarded to the Honourable Court of Directors by the Despatch of 1st January 1823* and recommended for sanction, but the Court refused † to alter the sentiments expressed in its Despatch of 22nd August 1821, disallowing the establishment allowance of Rs. 234 for St. Andrew's Church and disapproved of the advance of Rs. 80,000 to the Kirk Session to enable them to discharge the debt they had incurred on account of the Church. In consequence of these orders the sum of sicca Rs. 1,03,786-10-8 was refunded to Government, and Dr. Bryce was informed that copies of the Builder's report and estimates which accompanied his letter had been forwarded to the Military Board with direction to submit an estimate of the probable expense of repairing St. Andrew's Church. On receipt of this an expenditure of Rs. 2,789-0-9 $\frac{1}{4}$ was sanctioned for this purpose, and it was remarked that "in executing the repairing it would be necessary to make only such repairs as shall be indispensable to preserve the building from delapidation without contributing at all to the embellishment or ornamental part of the Church."

With reference to Dr. Bryce's request for the restoration of the allowance of Rs. 234 the Government informed him that it would reconsider the matter on receipt of information as to the amount which was or

* Paragraphs 44-53.

† Despatch of 23 July 1824, from the Court of Directors, paragraphs 60—67.

would probably be annually realized from seat rents and the manner in which that amount was appropriated. The reply received to this letter was considered, however, to be improper, and the Government refused to proceed with the matter further. In his letters of the 25th December 1827 and 15th January 1828 * Dr. Bryce again pressed for an establishment allowance, and in a subsequent communication threatened, in case he did not receive a reply, that he would announce from the pulpit on the following Sunday that St. Andrew's Church would be shut up from that date. He was told that he had no authority to do so, and that if he withdrew himself from the performance of his duties he would be suspended. On the 7th April 1828, Dr. Bryce forwarded a Resolution of the Kirk Session to the effect that the Church should close until funds could be found for the payment of the Establishment. In reply to these letters the Government, in its letter of 17th April 1828, gave its decision in the following terms:—

"I am accordingly directed to inform you and to desire you will intimate to the Kirk Session that no establishment of Church Officers beyond the Senior and Junior Chaplains can at present be allowed by Government."

With reference to the question of the repairs of the church it was stated in the same letter, that the repairs done by Government were not to be considered a precedent from which it was to be concluded that the repairs would again be made by Government.

Eventually in 1835, after Dr. Bryce had proceeded to England to act in the name and on behalf of the creditors of St. Andrew's Church, the Court of Directors agreed to pay off the debt of Rs. 80,000 of the church in lieu of all claims which the creditors had on the seat rents and other revenues of the church, and by a Resolution of 6th February 1835 it was intimated that a treasury order had been issued for the repayment of the above sum to the Kirk Session which had been advanced to them in October 1822, leaving them to adjust the claims of the creditors. The Honourable the Court of Directors was informed accordingly in Government Despatch No. 1, of the 27th May 1835.

The facts stated in the foregoing sketch are to be found in the following records of the Government of India, Home Department:—

Consultations, 6th December 1814, Nos. 29-30.

1. " 20th December 1814, No. 34.
2. " 14th February 1815, No. 40.
3. " 4th April 1815, No. 45.
4. " 11th April 1815, No. 32.

* This portion of the correspondence in the Records is incomplete.

5. Consultations, 25th April 1815, Nos. 46-49 and 52.
 6. " 18th May 1815, No. 39.
 7. " 30th May 1815, No. 43A and B.
 8. " 20th June 1815, Nos. 5-6.
 9. " 3rd November 1815, No. 1.
 10. " 25th November 1815, Nos. 25-26.
 11. " 18th January 1816, No. 51.
 12. " 10th February 1816, Nos. 46-47.
 13. " 17th February 1816, No. 59.
 14. " 16th March 1816, Nos. 47-49.
 15. " 23rd March 1816, Nos. 41-43.
 16. " 30th March 1816, No. 44
 17. " 25th May 1816, No. 43.
 18. " 6th July 1816, No. 49.
 19. " 28th December 1816, No. 62.
 20. " 18th January 1817, No. 52.
 21. " 1st March 1817, Nos. 42-43.
 22. " 22nd March 1817, No. 38.
 23. " 28th December 1817, No. 62.
 24. " 27th February 1818, No. 45.
 25. " 10th April 1818, Nos. 37-38.
 26. " 28th August 1818, Nos. 1-2.
 27. " 28th August 1818, Nos. 3 to 5.
 28. " 25th September 1818, Nos. 7 and 8.
 29. " 10th October 1822, Nos. 1-4.
 30. " 17th October 1822, Nos. 2-3.
 31. " 15th November 1827, Nos. 7-8.
 32. " 25th November 1827, Nos. 3-4.
 33. " 24th January 1828, Nos. 6-8.
 34. " 17th April 1828, Nos. 2-6.
 35. " 6th February 1835, Nos. 1-3.

S. C. SANIAL.

The Old Overland Route Across Egypt to India.

" And the Englishman straining far over to hold his loved India will plant a firm foot on the Banks of the Nile." *Kinglake's EOTHEN, 1835.*

VOYAGES round the Cape to India in the eighteenth century lasted three or eight months and cost two hundred to five hundred pounds. Sometimes the Government in India had to wait over a year to get replies to its dispatches from the Court of Directors of the Honorable East India Company in London, and this led to many curious experiences, for instance, the Government in India went without news of the declaration of war in Europe for many months, and likewise after peace had been declared in Europe they were still hammering at the French in India till the news came.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century Englishmen in India never took any leave to Europe, and later, in fact, until the Overland Route was opened people stayed in India fifteen or twenty years without going home. The evidence of India's old graveyards illustrates how they died—young in great numbers, and others in their prime. The fittest survived, and there are cases where men, after 50 or 60 years' service died in India at a ripe old age.

We have records which show that dispatches were being sent by way of the Red Sea and Egypt as early as 1778 by "the Suez Packet," although three years previously two parties had carried dispatches by this route under rather peculiar circumstances. Lord Pigot, the Governor of Madras, disagreeing with a resolution of his Council, suspended them from office and arrested the commander of the troops and was himself seized and confined. Each party then dispatched a messenger to the Directors in London, and to save time they were sent by the Red Sea. Captain Dibdin for the Council landed at Tor in the Gulf of Suez and reached London first. Mr. Eyles Irwin, Lord Pigot's emissary, travelled in the *Snow Adventure* and got as far as Yambo in Arabia after a voyage of 79 days. The *Visier* of Yambo gave the party much trouble and detained them in the town for a month. After much payment of exorbitant sums, an open boat was given to Mr. Irwin and his party to take them to Suez, and they christened this boat the *Imposition*.

After another month's voyage the Arab crew took them up the Gulf of Akabar telling them it was the Gulf of Suez. But Mr. Irwin made them put about, and they were thereupon taken to Kosseir where they were again detained and fleeced from the 9th to the 28th of July 1775, when at length they were permitted to move onward across the desert to their destination. Incidentally Lord Pigot died in confinement before the Directors came to any decision.

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Mrs. Fay in her *Letters from India* gives a description of a journey across Egypt in the summer of 1779. They landed at Alexandria and took a boat up the Nile to Cairo and crossed the desert to Suez, and were very thankful to get there safely, as a month or two previously a party from India had been attacked by Bedouins and robbed of about £40,000 and stripped of their clothes and some had died of exposure. Also a Mr. Moore had been robbed in a similar manner about the same time. George Baldwin, the first British Consul-General in Egypt who was also Agent for the H.E.I. Company, represented the hardships and dangers to Anglo-Indians crossing Egypt to the Supreme Council in Bengal, as did also Mr. John O'Donnell, one of the persons robbed. Nothing was done, however, although Baldwin repeatedly pointed out the importance of a regular service through Egypt.

In 1797 the cruiser *Panther*, Captain Speak, sailed from Bombay to Suez and back taking over thirteen months owing to contrary winds. Voyages up and down the Red Sea at that time were exceedingly dangerous, and it may be mentioned that in 1801 when the army under Sir David Baird was sent from India to co-operate with Sir Ralph Abercromby in Egypt, the expedition lost fourteen ships in different parts of the Red Sea. A brave sailor, Captain William Mackay, in the *Perseverance* rescued a detachment of the 80th Regiment wrecked off Cape Guardafui. On arrival at Suez this same Captain Mackay, having reason to doubt the fidelity of the person who was entrusted to take the cargo across the desert to Sir David Baird, accompanied it himself in three trips to Cairo, and in the last trip was attacked by Bedouins whom he successfully drove off.*

About the year 1801, Baldwin was granted a *firman* † permitting him to navigate the Red Sea, and he arranged for a ship to be brought from Calcutta to Suez and another from London to Alexandria. To celebrate the event of their arrival Baldwin ascended the Great Pyramid with his friends and "poured out libations from three bottles of water from the Thames, the Ganges and the Nile, and toasted the union of the three rivers, and the expansion of British commerce through Egypt." Unfortunately Baldwin's

* Busteed, *Echoes from Old Calcutta*.

† D. A. Cameron, *Egypt in the Nineteenth Century*.

firman was cancelled by the Porte shortly afterwards, as the Red Sea being a holy sea, was "not to be profaned by infidels in the vulgar pursuit of trade." Here was felt "the blight which for generations past has withered some of the fairest regions of the earth."^{*}

In May 1799, when the French were in Egypt, Mr. John Barker was appointed H. E. I. Company's Agent at Aleppo, in order to transmit the important dispatches between India and England *via* Constantinople and Basra. In the 16th and 17th centuries this route had been the great highway to India, and Aleppo itself had been a great mart. There had been English factories at Aleppo and Alexandretta composed of about eighty houses, or firms, but these factories were closed and the Aleppo route abandoned, when the East India trade was diverted round the Cape.[†] This too was the route (*via* Suedia on the Mediterranean, Aleppo and the Euphrates,) which was surveyed in 1835 and advocated for years by that great man, General Sir George Chesney. In 1856 Chesney and Sir John Macneil surveyed a railway line along this route. He always maintained that this would be the road to India finally adopted, and the question is to-day about to be settled.

Between 1800 and the coming of Waghorn there are but few records of travellers by the future Overland Route across Egypt, although in 1817 Lt. Colonel Frederick Fitzclarence carried dispatches from Bombay to Falmouth *via* Kosseir, Kena, the Nile and Cairo. Colonel Fitzclarence says that at that time the banks of the Nile abounded with "crawling crocodiles, scorpions and insolent Turks," and the voyage down was difficult. The desert route from Kosseir to the Nile at Kena was never very much frequented by Anglo-Indians, it being very tedious and slow and in Colonel Fitzclarence's case the duplicates of the dispatches he was carrying arrived (probably by Aleppo) a fortnight before him.

This voyage, and others, did not encourage the H.E.I.C. Directors to support the proposed route through Egypt. However public meetings were held in London and Calcutta between 1822 and 1826 where were discussed many schemes to shorten the voyage to Europe by establishing steam communication round the Cape or through the Red Sea. A subscription fund was raised for the encouragement of any attempt, by either route, to be

• Mr. Asquith's Guildhall speech, November 9th 1914.

† Edward Barker, *Syria and Egypt under the last five Sultans of Turkey*. 2 vols, 1876. Mr. John Barker held this post at Aleppo till it was abolished in 1826. He was appointed Consul in Alexandria in 1826 and succeeded Mr. Henry Salt as Consul-General on the latter's death in Alexandria in 1827. It was Mr. Salt who accompanied Lord Valentia on his travels in India as an artist. Mr. Barker was also H. E. I. C. Agent in Egypt from 1828 to 1833. At the time he was at Aleppo, the H. E. I. C. Agent at Constantinople was Mr. Peter Tooke and at Basra, Mr. Samuel Manestey.

made before the expiration of 1826, subject to a time-limit of 140 days for the double journey. A pioneer voyage was made with a steam-vessel by Captain Johnston R. N. in the *Enterprise*, which was sent round the Cape to Calcutta in 1826, but the voyage was hardly a success for rapidity.

Lieutenant Thomas Waghorn now appears in this history of endeavours. His life is bound up with the Overland Route. He sacrificed his life, his energy and his money to gain this benefit for his fellow men—a benefit which was to bring India and the East months nearer England and develop enormously the social, commercial and political relations of the Empire. It is difficult to remember so great a hero who in his time has been treated worse, and who deserved more from his country. He sent appeal after appeal to the Government and to the H. E. I. Company for recognition and help. It was not till when heavily in debt and dying, that he was given an annuity and a small grant, but he did not live many weeks to enjoy them. This tragedy is almost impossible to realize in modern times.

For years his only memorial was a tablet erected by his wife in Snodland church. In 1870 de L'Isseps placed a bust of Waghorn at the Suez entrance of the Canal with the following graceful tribute :—

“Erected in homage to the memory of the generous, though unfortunate, man who alone, without any help, by a long series of labours and heroic efforts, practically demonstrated and determined the adoption of the postal route through Egypt and the communication between the East and West of the world, and this was the originator and pioneer of the great Egyptian maritime commerce completed by the Canal of the two Seas.”

When the occupation of Egypt turned the attention of people to his memory a fine statue was erected to him at Chatham thirty-eight years after his death, but on the other hand one should remember that not many years ago it appeared that his two daughters were living neglected and in great poverty, and that they were given a small Government pension to help them in their old age.

Thomas Waghorn was born at 166, High Street, Chatham, on June the 20th. 1800. He entered the Royal Navy* at the early age of twelve, serving on H. M. frigate *Tigris* on the Home and West India Stations. Just before he entered his seventeenth year this brilliant boy passed his examination in navigation for promotion to lieutenant, being the youngest midshipman that had ever done so. At the end of 1817 he was paid off, and went as

* Herr Baedeker in the usual cheerful way of his countrymen claims Waghorn for the German nation. In his Guide for Egypt he says that Waghorn was an enterprising German in the service of the H. E. I. C.

third mate of free trader to Calcutta and returned home. In 1819 he was appointed to the Bengal Marine Pilot Service, and in 1824 he was asked by the Bengal Government to volunteer for the Arakan War, and he left Chittagong with the flotilla operating on the coast. Later he was given command of the Company's cutter *Matchless*, and on one occasion he hoisted a 12-pounder from the deck of his ship on to a perpendicular rock, 220 feet high, now known as "Waghorn's Rock" in the Arakan River. Eventually owing to the sickness of his brother officers he became senior naval commander on the Arakan Coast between Chittagong and Sandoway. In his petition to the British Government in 1848 he wrote that he "received the thanks of the authorities of the province (after two years and a half service), with a constitution then undermined from the painful fever of Arracan where so many thousands died, for out of 19,000 men (army and flotilla) comprising the division, not 100 are now alive. The pestilence of that climate reduced the forces, in six months, to two tenths of their original number."

In Calcutta "he rallied to the great project he had secretly at heart, namely, 'A steam communication between our Eastern possessions and their mother-country England,' ere his departure from Calcutta on furlough, in 1827, ill in health, harassed from Arracan fever, still between its attacks, his energies returned." In Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, he always had the support of the merchants and local Governments, while on the other hand in England he fought against the apathy of the H.E.I.C. and was commonly looked on as a dreamer or a madman. In Calcutta Waghorn was chosen by Lord Combermere and a committee of merchants to forward his project in England, and before leaving India was also deputed by influential merchants in Madras to advance the interests of that city in connection with his scheme.

His first idea was for steam communication round the Cape, but the more rapid alternative route through Egypt was very shortly decided on. His steamers were "to be built after the model of the Leith smacks, of 200 or 220 tons, and to be provided with two 25 horse-power engines, their masts to be so constructed as to lower down on deck in case of head winds, and the funnel also to be lowered at pleasure." He anticipated that the voyage from London to Calcutta would take seventy days. On arrival in England he advocated the object of his visit at all points, particularly in London, Liverpool, Manchester, Glasgow and Birmingham. The Post Office was at that time opposed to ocean steam navigation and the E. I. Directors (except a Mr. Loch) were cruelly obstinate and rejected his scheme as altogether impracticable, and a lesser man than Waghorn would have dropped this benefit he wished to confer on mankind.

In describing the interview he had with the Chairman of the Court, he says, "I told him that the feeling in India was most ardent for it, that the

Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck, had done me the honour to predict that if ever the object was accomplished it would be by the man who had navigated the Red Sea in an open boat. To all this the Chairman replied that the Governor-General and the people of India had nothing to do with the India House, and added that if I did not go back and join their Pilot Service, to which I belonged, I should receive such a communication as would be by no means agreeable to me. On the instant I penned my resignation, and placing it in his hands, told him I would establish the Overland Route in spite of the India House."

So here we have Waghorn with great self-sacrifice resigning his post in the Company, while holding only a midshipman's rank in the Royal Navy (for he was not given the rank of lieutenant till 1842, after repeated applications), defying the Chairman and all the John Company's might and power. This opposition on the part of the H. E. I. C. wrecked a similar scheme for steam communication between Bombay to Suez. In 1828 the Governor of Bombay, General Sir John Malcolm, sent Major Barnwell to England with dispatches for the Directors putting forward the plan of his predecessor. Three or four steamers were to be used, and the voyage to England was to take 34 days, and dispatches, mails and passengers were to be carried.*

Although the Directors did not give much support to the proposal the steamer *Hugh Lindsay* was built, costing £40,000, of 411 tons, with two 80 H. P. engines. Mistakes had been made in her construction for she had bunker capacity for six days steaming only, whereas the nearest land was 8 or 10 days from Bombay. To get over this difficulty the bunkers, holds and passenger accommodation were filled with coal to enable the ship to reach Aden. After she had been thus loaded it was found that the *Hugh Lindsay* was so deep in the water that the engines could hardly turn the paddles. She sailed however, and providentially the weather was fine. Commander John Wilson R. N. brought his ship into Suez on the 22nd of April 1830, the first steamer to sail the Red Sea. The voyage took a few hours less than thirty-three days, and taking into consideration her speed was only six knots, it was a fine performance of seamanship in uncharted navigation. Coal depôts had had to be established at Aden, Jeddah, Kosseir and Suez, before this voyage could be made, and the expence of coal alone was sufficient to stop any further support from the Directors.

To return to Waghorn, in October 1829 he was called on by Lord Ellenborough, then President of the India Board, and Mr. Loch, the new

* See *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. III. p. 182.....At that time Admiral Sir Charles Malcolm was Superintendent of Marine at Bombay and Sir Pulteney Malcolm was Vice Admiral at Malta. Sir John himself went to Cairo in 1830 and was magnificently received by the enlightened Viceroy, Mohamed Ali Pasha.

Chairman of the court of Directors, to go to India by way of Egypt with dispatches for Sir John Malcolm, and more especially to report upon the practicability of the Overland Route and the navigation of the Red Sea. To prove the efficiency of which route he was to deliver answers to the dispatches in London within a certain time.

Waghorn left London on the 28th of October 1829 travelling rapidly *via.* Trieste, and about the same time a Mr. Taylor was sent out by a Company and he met Waghorn at Suez. Mr. Taylor's Company's scheme was for twelve steamers to ply each side of the Isthmus of Egypt, each ship being at least 550 tons and to carry 40 or 50 passengers. Finding that Waghorn already had his scheme well in hand, it is said that Mr. Taylor transferred his energies to the Tigris where a steamer company was started.*

Waghorn also carried a dispatch containing a series of questions for Mr. John Barker, the Consul-General at Alexandria, who had already given the Company his views on the subject of the Overland Route and had been told then that "it was not a matter of his competence." Having changed their minds Mr. Barker answered the questions of which he wrote at the time, "these questions show, that they are balancing the advantages and disadvantages of the two routes, namely, that of Bussorah and Aleppo, and this channel (*via.* Egypt) for the transmission of their correspondence by steamers, in the supposition that the Euphrates might be navigable to steam-vessels, a point which, I apprehend, there is no man living who can decide, and which can be ascertained only by actual survey." It seems therefore if Sir George Chesney (who arrived in Egypt the following year) had made his survey of the Euphrates before that time, and not afterwards when the Red Sea Overland Route had been adopted, the former route might have been chosen. As it was, in the absence of a survey, Mr. Barker's report recommended the Overland Route.†

Waghorn left Alexandria after a few days' stay proceeding on donkey to Rosetta, to Cairo by boat, and across the desert on a camel to Suez. His journey onwards from Suez to Jeddah, proved again his marvellous perseverance and tenacity. Finding no ship to take him on to Bombay he left Suez on the 9th of December in an open boat for Jeddah about 650 miles distant. He had neither chart nor compass, his crew of six Arabs threatened mutiny, but Waghorn said he would shoot the first man who persisted in his refusal to proceed. After a further delay at Jeddah, where he had an attack of fever, he was taken on to Bombay in H. M. S. *Thetis*, Captain Moresby.

* Mr. J. W. Taylor was a brother of Major Taylor, the H. E. I. C. Resident at Basra.

† It is a curious fact that the projects of the two great English pioneers should be followed by other nations, Chesney's by the German Bagdad Railway, and Waghorn's by the Lessep's Canal.

It may be mentioned here that Mohamed Ali Pasha, the Viceroy of Egypt, granted Waghorn a *firman* to arm him on his way. Mohamed Ali was altogether favourable to the Overland Route and encouraged Waghorn in every way. The following episode illustrates both men's character. In October 1839 news came to Waghorn at Alexandria of Sir John Keane's victory at Ghazni and too late for a steamer which had left for England the day before. Mohamed Ali immediately lent Waghorn his steam yacht to take the news to Malta for instant transmission to England. Waghorn took command of the yacht. On another occasion the Pasha gave Waghorn confidential dispatches to deliver to the Grand Vizir at Constantinople, and Waghorn's strong character and charm of manner were greatly appreciated by the Pasha.

On arrival at Bombay, the thanks of the Government were voted to Waghorn, and the tariff he proposed to charge on letters and packages by his route was sanctioned. He returned to London by the same route and delivered answers to the dispatches within the stipulated time. He was absolutely convinced that the Overland Route was the channel for the conveyance of the Indian Mails, and that its establishment would cause an enormous development of trade and advance British interests in every way. But even then (1830) the Honourable Directors did not recognize the necessity for action. Waghorn was still left to do the work alone. He therefore returned to Egypt as a private individual (without even the rank of Lieutenant) and set to work with the assistance of Mahomed Ali to establish the Overland Route. The road between Cairo and Suez was prepared and eight halting places with towers to signal the progress of the mails were built. While at work at these he lived in the tents of the Bedouins on the road and made friends with them, thus securing safety for future travellers. Between the years 1831 and 1834 he supervised the carriage of the mails and passengers himself ; he managed to convey them from Bombay to England in forty-seven days without the advantage of steamers in the Mediterranean or railways on the Continent.

Passengers began to patronize the new Route, and in February 1835 the *Hugh Lindsay* opened a regular service between Bombay and Suez, which was continued by Government steamers until 1840 when the P & O. S. N. Co. were given the contract which they have held without competition ever since. It is not on record, but it would appear that Waghorn was prepared to take up this contract, which undoubtably should have been given to him, as he had already spent much money on the route. Instead of getting the contract he was deserted with a debt of £5000. Marseilles appears to have been the Continental port used, although at one time (between 1845 and 1847) Waghorn experimented again with his old and rapider route *via* Trieste, in order to show M. Guizot and the French Government that England had a faster

alternative route across the Alps than across France. It is recorded that the first public mail was carried this way. Letters had been carried previously, but the first public mail left Bombay the 1st October 1845 and reached Suez on the 19th and Alexandria on the 20th. It was shipped to Trieste and carried across the Continent by way of Bavaria, the Rhine and Belgium, arriving in London on the 31st October.

Waghorn was for ever travelling backwards and forwards between Bombay or Alexandria and London by Marseilles, Trieste, Genoa or Ancona and wherever he went he made friends with the rulers of the States concerned, such as Pope Pius the Ninth, the King of Sardinia and Mohamed Ali Pasha. It appears when he was experimenting with the Trieste route, and finding that he was spending much money on the account of the Government from his own pocket, he asked the authorities and the Honourable Company to guarantee payment when the experiment was completed. This was agreed to, but when he presented his bill the Treasury and the Honourable Company refused to pay! Six months before his death, he petitioned the Government once more, saying that the non-payment of the £2000 due to him had preyed upon him, since, "and now, a wreck alike almost in mind and body, I am sustained alone by the hope that the annals of the Insolvent Court will not have inscribed upon them the *Pioneer of the Overland Route*, because of obligations he incurred for the public, by direction of the public authorities." Waghorn died at Islington on the 7th of January, 1850, at the early age of 49; he had worn himself out and made himself an invalid and had sown the seeds of a broken constitution in the performance of his duty to the Government and to the people.

When the P. & O. were given the contract in 1840 a regular fortnightly service to and from India seems to have been introduced, and Waghorn left Egypt the following year, his work completed. As regards the journey across Egypt, it has already been stated that before the Mahmudia canal was opened between Alexandria and the Nile, passengers for Cairo had to go by land or boat to the Rosetta branch of the Nile. After this canal was opened in 1826 the journey across was accomplished in six days by steamers to Cairo (158 miles) and by a service of carriages, vans and horses, arranged by Waghorn, by his road to Suez (88 miles). It is understood that the P. & O. and "the Land Transport Corps" undertook these arrangements when Waghorn left, or perhaps the new contract was the cause of his leaving. In 1845 the mails were rushed across in part of two days, but this does not appear to have been a permanent arrangement, as passengers certainly took longer.

Waghorn in concert with Mr. George Wheatley organized a shipping business in London in 1837 for booking passengers and luggage by the Overland Route. This firm still exists in a greatly developed form and is now well-known as Geo. W. Wheatley & Co. of 95, Upper Thames Street &c., to whom I am greatly indebted for much information concerning

Waghorn. The first link of the railway from Alexandria to Cairo was opened as far as Kafr Zayat on the Nile in 1854 and completed to Cairo in 1856. In 1858 the railway was extended across the desert from Cairo to Suez, and this did away for ever with the tedious journey over the 88 miles of desert in carriages. Between 1831 and 1858 thousands of Anglo-Indians must have toiled along this road to England and health, or to India and work.*

The traveller, Von Orlich, tells us of the journey from Alexandria to Suez in 1842. At Alexandria he embarked in a boat on the Mahmudia Canal, which he describes as being fifty paces broad and about six feet deep. The boat was drawn by four horses as far as Atfa on the Nile where the *Lotus*, a 32-H. P. steamer, received them and conveyed them to Cairo. From Cairo he was taken over Waghorn's road to Suez in a two-wheeled cart with a linen awning and drawn by four horses. Von Orlich complained of the heat in July under the linen awning and was glad to get on board the *Berenice* in which he sailed for India.

It is refreshing to read Thackeray and to find how at least he appreciated the work and energy of Waghorn. Thackeray landed in Alexandria in October 1844 and travelled up the Mahmudia Canal to Atfa in one of the P. & O. "fly boats" towed by a steamer, and from thence to Cairo in a Nile steamer. Landing at Bulak, after a voyage of about thirty hours, he mounted a donkey and raced into Cairo "over a fair road and the wide-planted plain of the Ezbekieh ; where are gardens, canals, fields, and avenues of trees, and where the great ones of the town come to take their pleasure." He put up at the Hotel d' Orient where the court was "full of bustling dragomans, ayahs, and children from India ; and poor old venerable hen-nurses, with grey beards and crimson turbans, tending little white-faced babies that have seen light at Dum Dum or Futtygurh."

Waghorn had returned to Egypt on one of his flying visits and Thackeray catches sight of him. "The bells are ringing prodigiously ; and Lieutenant Waghorn is bouncing in and out of the courtyard full of business. He only left Bombay yesterday morning, was seen in the Red Sea on Tuesday, is engaged to dinner this afternoon in the Regent's Park, and (as it is about two minutes since I saw him in the courtyard) I make no doubt he is by this time at Alexandria, or at Malta, say, perhaps, at both. *Il est capable*. If any man can be at two places at once (which I don't believe or deny) Waghorn is he."

It is impossible not to continue quoting from the *Journey from Cornhill to Grand Cairo*. Thackeray gives a racey description of the Anglo Indian travellers passing through. After telling us that the Hotel d' Orient was a comfortable house with sixty rooms capable of accommodating a large

* The road still exists and is good enough for motors. In 1869 the Desert railway from Cairo to Suez was abandoned on the opening of the Suez Canal on the 17th of November of that year.

proportion of the Anglo-Indians from India and England who passed through Cairo every fortnight, he says :

" Six o'clock bell rings. Sixty people sit down to a quasi-French banquet : thirty Indian officers in moustaches and jackets ; ten civilians in ditto and spectacles ; ten pale-faced ladies with ringlets, to whom all pay prodigious attention. All the pale ladies drink pale ale, which perhaps, accounts for it ; in fact the Bombay and Suez passengers have just arrived, and hence this crowding and bustling, and display of military jackets and moustaches, and ringlets and beauty. The windows are open, and a rush of mosquitoes from the Ezbekieh waters, attracted by the wax candles, adds greatly to the excitement of the scene."

This is delightful. Thackeray admittedly described Egypt from the Cockney point of view. Others might describe it a hundred times otherwise, but only he could leave us this imperishable picture. Still, he fears it is hardly an account of Egypt, it is not, he says, "it is England in Egypt. I like to see her there with her pluck, enterprise, manliness, bitter ale, and Harvey Sauce." Comparing Napoleon's enterprise in Egypt with Waghorn's he says, "but what are his wonders compared to Waghorn ? Nap massacred the Mamelukes at the Pyramids : Wag has conquered the Pyramids themselves ; dragged the unwieldy structures a month nearer England than they were.....Be ours the trophies of peace ! O my country ! O Waghorn ! *Hoc tibi exunt artes.* When I go to the Pyramids I will sacrifice in your name, and pour out libations of bitter ale and Harvey Sauce in your honour."

Seventy years afterwards there has come a second Anglo-Indian invasion to defend the canal which has superseded Waghorn's Overland Route, but one missed the ringlets, the pale ale and the Harvey Sauce.

In conclusion, to George Baldwin is the honour of having been the first Englishman (probably before Napoleon's scheme for a Suez canal) to see the great future before the route by Egypt to India and the possible expansion of British commerce, years before Kinglake's remarkable prophecy quoted at the beginning of this article, and before Waghorn was born. It is, however, of Waghorn that our memories should not grow dim, for twenty years he toiled almost alone till he succeeded. It was Waghorn who stimulated the zeal of de Lesseps, when they met in 1838, in his scheme for the Suez Canal, a project that Waghorn may himself have had in mind when he was labouring to attain his modest Overland Route in the face of the opposition of his countrymen. Today, under the trees by the canal side at Suez, stands Waghorn's bust erected by de Lesseps, facing the ships that pass to the East and to the West, and at Chatham is Waghorn's statue. Otherwise there is little to show to the memory of him that died in poverty in 1850.

The Letters of Mr. Richard Barnwell—V.

LETTER No. CXVIII.

CALCUTTA,

The 19th September, 1768.

TO MESSRS. JOHN DUVAL AND SONS, LONDON.

[Of no interest.]

LETTER No. CXIX.

CALCUTTA,

29 August, 1768.

TO MR. PETER MARIETTE AT FORT ST. GEORGE.

Forwarding a small parcel of emeralds valued at Rs 542-12-6.

LETTER No. CXX.

CALCUTTA,

The 19th September, 1768.

TO ANSELM BEAUMONT, Esq.

Dear Beaumont,

I have been favored with the following letters dated the 13th November and 11th December 1767, 5th, 8th, 9th and 29th January 1768 and 28th February 1768. The bill of exchange advised by the letter of the 11th December has been accepted and will be discharged when due. Prompt payment has been tendered and refused account the gold currency. But as the bills are drawn in currency, I do suppose, as all the gentlemen on whom bills are drawn are determined not to submit to the imposition of disbursing the bills in any particular silver specie, that the French Council by the tenor of the bills will be obliged to take the current coin of the place. The letters that passed between Mr. Boutat and your humble servant on the subject go enclosed.

Your letter of credit for £10 in favor of Mr. Peter Downes has been attended to as has that in favor of Mr. Mayaffree for £20. Both these gentlemen have been paid the rupee at 2 shillings and 2 pence half penny. Copy of their receipts go enclosed. These two letters of credit are dated the 5th and 9th January 1768 and relate to no other circumstance.

Your letter of the 29th January confirms the advice of your having drawn on me for £5,000, and intimates your having procured me a preference in the cash to be taken up here for bills on the French Company. This I shall take the benefit of, and remit you the balance in my hands. And I may possibly take up 20,000 myself to enable you to answer my drafts on you in favour of Mr. George Hay, that is, if I cannot remit by any other channel on better terms and of which at present I see no prospect. Now for your two long letters of the 13th November 1767 and 8th January 1768. Barton himself will have occasion for the money he has in England and intends writing to his brother, and as you will get French bills for all your cash in India, this will not prove a disappointment to you—a lucky circumstance: you will perceive the lengths I went last year to get you home some moneys. Those remittances, though not very advantageous, yet I hope will be approved.

The marble slabs still remain at Mootajill and at Patna. What can I do? I cannot sell them, and as for the gentlemen who should assist you they are so taken up with accumulating wealth to themselves, that they are deaf to the calls of friendship, and what is worse, with the most extensive power to be generous, they seem to have forgotten the world in themselves. Narrow souls. May the gold they worship be taken from them! For themselves they can oblige the zemindars to take off 3 or 4 lacs of rupees worth of cotton and oblige them to pay Rs 26 and Rs 27 the maunds for it. This was the more grevious and oppressive, for the poor devils afterwards to pay the revenues were obliged to sell the same cotton at public markets for Rs 12 and Rs 13 per maund. Yet they pretend an impropriety in urging to the Nabob to take your marble at the very time he has been bringing marble from Suja Dowlah's country to make a bath and* to his new house. You may judge hence, my Friend, the little you have to expect from our present great men. The Rajabarry adventure remains in *status quo*, and I am afraid will remain so. I have wrote a note to V. on the subject this morning. The demand on Mrs. Bodle is made with interest, but I am not as yet certain whether or not it will be paid. Captain Thomas's debt is to be paid. I go to-morrow to swear I have not received any part of it, and that I believe it to be due to you; I was not able, as you will perceive by the rough statement of your affairs enclosed, to make any further remittance to Mr. Bourchier of which I am glad, as you yourself wished it not

* Room?

made. Chaund Holdar's bond delivered by Captain Adams you will find has been accounted. I particularised it in my letters of last year.

With respect to coral consignments I could wish for as many as possible, the commission being large and the sales not overtroublesome. Therefore remember me in this particular if I am absent; my assigns will be in Calcutta.

With respect to my affairs in your and Leycester's hands, I have only to hope they will answer my demands on you; if they should not, you may depend that I will make it up by the first opportunity and with interest.

Politicks—*Simpliciter idem.*

No cash in the Bengal treasury

Do Do Madras treasury

Do Do Bombay treasury.

A war on the Coast spun out to a shameful length and likely to be continued still longer, unless Mr. Dupre should pursue more vigorous measures than have hitherto been taken.

Bombay by the Coast War under terrible apprehensions. Bengal under some apprehensions from Suja ul Dowlah. Messrs. Cartier, Russell and Col. Smith form a deputation and proceed for Eliabad* in a few days. What they determine my Honble Masters are to support, come peace come war.

Dear Beaumont, should Mr. Vansittart come out I am convinced he may greatly add to his reputation. Many regulations are absolutely necessary and which attended to with proper spirit will greatly enrich the Company, eradicate the oppression the country groans under, and in a great measure ensure to the Company a revenue far less fluctuating than the present. Health be with you.

I am etc.,

P. S. I have done Captain Stainforth all the service in my power. His investment I have got the merchants to take and I believe at a premium higher than any captain arrived in the course of this year has been able to sell at.

Sd. R. B.

Enclosure.†

WHEREAS many and pressing complaints have been lately made of the heavy grievances accruing both to trade in general and to domestic expences from the present high exchange of silver rupees, as the established

* Allahabad.

† On the subject of the gold-currency of 1766-1769 see Hunter: *Annals of Rural Bengal*. Chap. V.

currency of gold mohurs has been particularly pointed out as the immediate source of this evil, the GOVERNOR AND COUNCIL OF FORT WILLIAM to demonstrate their hearty desire and most ready endeavours to remove every appearance of public burthen have unanimously resolved and do hereby notify :

That they are ready for the space of fifteen days ensuing from the date and publication hereof to receive into the treasury all gold mohurs of the late currency at the full rate of fourteen sicca rupees their original fixed value and for every amount of the same above the sum on and value of one thousand rupees to issue interest notes payable in or within the space of twelve months which said notes are to bear an interest of 8 per cent per annum from their respective dates.

And it is hereby further published and declared that none of the said gold mohurs so received will be again issued from the said treasury, and the orders of the Select Committee for this Establishment of the gold currency are at the expiration of fifteen days from this date to be annulled.

By order of the Hon'ble THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL.

FORT WILLIAM the 6th September 1768

(Signed) EDWARD BABER,

Secretary.

LETTER No. CXXI.

CALCUTTA,

The 19th September 1768.

TO THOMAS HOWE, Esq.

[Of no interest.]

LETTER No. CXXII.

CALCUTTA,

The 20th September, 1768.

TO RALPH LEYCESTER, Esq.

Dear Leycester,

The first ship and not a letter from me I fear would have brought me to disgrace, and yet so it had like to have been owing to my indolence and the sudden closing of the present dispatches.

Your letters of the 18th September and the other without date by the ship *Talbot* are received. We have been agog for decisive intelligence from the

arrival of the *Admiral Watson* to this very instant and are still upon the rack. What party will prevail depends, I believe, greatly on the Ministry, as the Regulations respecting the India stock holders, I apprehend, must if anything have increased before the great influence of the Government.

I find Mr. V.—'s eyes are at last opened on the Lord. There was a great mistake in policy, I think, from the first ; a Coalition could never take place. Clive will not submit to share his power ; and, after what has passed, Mr. V. would have been mad to have thrown the game into his hands and confided in his generosity. Be assured then all his Lordship's aim in encouraging Mr. V. to hope a coalition was a mere artifice intended to create a jealousy and detach Johnstone from his party, and considering the reports propagated, I wonder it had not some effect. I think I now see you drawing up in battalions, with pamphlets displayed by way of ensigns, pens in each ear and each hand, and a face well be blacked with ink, defying the utmost malice of your enemies. In this state I commend you to victory and hope the crown you engage for will not prove mere paper, for the sweets contained in the paper appear to me in great danger of being demolished by the innumerable insects buzzing around it. I hope my conjectures will not be confirmed ; should they, repentance will certainly prove too late. Let the Government but once trample on the Company's rights, the consequence will be instantly felt by the nation. The mercantile and territorial interests are indivisibly blended, and an attempt to disunite them, I am convinced, instead of benefiting the nation, will greatly lessen those advantages which arise to it from their union. But this is for heads all wise to consider and determine upon. The increase of dividend balloted for and carried against the Directors the Company's affairs will point out to have been a wrong measure, and the expectation of wealth from these parts will not be nearly answered, for the investment is not more than equal to that of the last year ; and as for the treasury it has with difficulty disbursed the ordinary expence of the Government. Bombay and Madras are equally distressed for money. The war with Hyder Naig is still to be concluded, and apprehensions are entertained here of the power of Suja Dowla, whose force in disciplined seapoys is much beyond what Cossim ever had to boast of. Messrs. Cartier, Col. Smith and Russell are to be depuited to the King or to Suja Dowla, whether the first or the last or to both I know not, but that they leave Calcutta in a few days for Eliabad is certain. I enclose you a publication relative to the gold currency. Bolts, I believe, will be forced home by this ship and in all probability afford much matter for the lawyers to work upon. He had vapoured away here, but I much doubt whether he will not repent of the folly of irritating power. By the Charter the Council have the power of dismissing an Alderman for misbehaviour or complaint preferred in writing

by the party aggrieved. With what propriety they have exerted it against Bolts will be determined by the King and Company should he appeal. He has got some curious anecdotes and well worth your perusal; he will shew them to you, if you express the least inclination to see them. Make my *salam* to Mrs. Leycester and believe me, your very sincere Friend etc.

LETTER No. CXXIII.

CALCUTTA,

The 10th November 1768.

TO ANSELM BEAUMONT, Esq.

Dear Beaumont,

Enclosed you will receive the first Bill of Exchange for £5,000 (Pounds sterling five thousand) with a letter to the Directors of the French East India Company.

I send for your perusal a copy of Mr. Garden's letter relative to the remittance *via* Aleppo and two letters from Mr. Chevalier of the 29th and 30th October. Messrs. Boardieu and Chollet in their letter of the 2nd February 1768 advised that I was to have had a preference in the remittance to be made this season, but such negotiations in Europe, I do suppose, interfere with the private interests of the French gentlemen in India, as I have not been able to obtain even a remittance of £5,000 on the strength of that recommendation. Private bills I did not choose to accept on your account, as those would not have been negotiable, and I do suppose the public channel must be open again in eight months.

I am etc.,

Enclosure I.

BUSSORA,

The 13th August, 1768.

TO RICHARD BARWELL, Esq.

Dear Barwell,

Having received advices from my correspondent at Aleppo that he will remit my money to England to the best advantage he can, I shall send what I have of Grady's and yours to him as soon as I can procure bills on Aleppo which I hope will be very shortly. The exchange he writes me is from 2/5 to 2/7 per piaster which on medium will amount to about 2/3 per Persia rupee. You omitted, my Friend, to give me Mr. Beaumont's direction in London;

however as I am informed he lives in Pall Mall, when I remit his money I will write to him and direct to him accordingly.

Not having hitherto been able to sell anything I shall be obliged to remain here till next year. Therefore if you have any business in these parts you may without ceremony command, dear Barwell, your affectionate Friend,

Robert Garden.

GARRATY,

The 30th October, 1768.

Enclosure II.

TO RICHARD BARWELL, ESQ., AT CALCUTTA.

Sir,

The bearer is one of our Company's banians which (*sic*) to your request I send you in order to receive the amount of the Bill of Exchange drawn upon you. That bill he will transmit you in the same time.

I am etc.,

CHEVALIER.

Enclosure III.

GARRATY,

The 29th October, 1768.

TO RICHARD BARWELL, ESQ., AT CALCUTTA.

Sir,

In consequence of your favor of the 17th current I will send you a banian to receive the amount of the Bill of Exchange drawn upon you and in the same time will transmit you the bill itself discharged. As for what regard the £5,000 sterling you propose more for bills I cannot for the present give you any satisfactory answer ; it depends on knowing if the several gentlemen at Calcutta which are engaged to remit the money to our treasury for bills shall be able to do it or not. If they are, then we have not any more money to accept of.

In case it is convenient to you to receive my private bills upon Messrs. Sumner and Gregory payable in London on the same terms of our Company, then I will deliver one to you for the sum you have occasion for.

I am etc.,

CHEVALIER.

Enclosure IV.

BAULEAH.

The 31st December, 1768.

TO ROBERT GARDEN, ESQ., AT BUSSORAH.

Dear Garden,

I have received your letter of the 13th August and am obliged to you for the trouble you have taken to remit to Mr. Beaumont the sum of money lent to you at respondentia. The duplicate bill you forward be kind enough to direct to Mr. Beaumont at the Jerusalem Coffeee House instead of Pall Mall.

I am with much sincerity etc.,

LETTER No. CXXIV.

BAULEAH,

*The 31st December 1768.*TO THE REVEREND MR. WILLIAM HIRST, RICHARD'S COFFEE HOUSE,
TEMPLE BAR.

Dear Hirst,

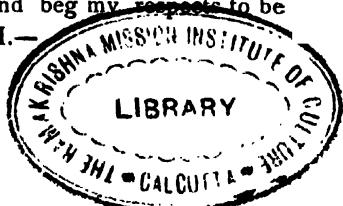
I am obliged by your letters of the 26th January and 6th March 68, and for the books you sent to me by Lieutenant Hog. Your kindness affords me a subject the most pleasing my pen could be engaged by, but all I can write or say may be comprised in few words. The sense I entertain of every testimony of your regard is such as you could wish and of which a mind biassed by esteem is alone susceptible.

The anxiety you have expressed under apprehension of a Flemish account (as you stile it) of the things you sent me is, I hope, vanished as I long since received them, and if I have not, I should have acknowledged it and indeed I thought I had.

The pamphlet written by Hastings is an elegant performance far superior to any of the literary productions of the East Indians that I have perused.

I could not help smiling at your mode of introducing Blackiston to me and the notice you take of the great men of the East. Believe me Bengall may boast of its Zachary Fungus's as well as Germany, nor will it be more extraordinary to see your 10 in the hundred K.....s statesmen and legislators than your commissarys—conspicuous proofs of the infamy of pride.

I take my leave of you for the present and beg my respects to be tendered to Mr. V[ansittart] and Mrs. Hirst, Mr. H.—



LETTER No. CXXV.

TO MESSRS. BOARDIEU & CHOLLET.

CASSIMBAZAR

9th January 1769.

[Of no interest].

LETTER No. CXXVI.

BAULEAH,

The 9th January 1769

TO HIS MOTHER

Dear and Honored Madam,

Exclusive of the dictates of duty, your very affectionate letters of the 27th July and 2nd August 1767 and 27th February 1768 excite me to make every acknowledgment gratitude and filial tenderness are capable of. Imagine here to yourself the tender overflowings of a heart sensible of all your kindness, and spare me a description I fear my pen would not do justice to.

Among the various scenes of tumult, intrigue and rapine I am as well situated as can be expected but still in hot water. I flatter myself, however, that my endeavors will at last be crowned with success, and that a few years will restore me to you, and, if then I am so fortunate as to get into the Direction, I shall be so much the happier as it will prove a means of advancing into life my dearest brothers. By the last advices I am joyed to find my Father so much better. I congratulate you, myself, and all on so happy a turn. His loss, apart from what each might feel through affection, would at this juncture prove the more severe, as there is not a son that can as yet step forth in point of fortune or abilities the guardian of his family. This subject is so interesting that I cannot prevail on myself to turn my thoughts to any other. Every other concern after so material a one appears so very trifling that the heart rejects it, and to dwell on this will possibly create you uneasiness by reminding you of what must be.

I am, my dear Parent etc.,

LETTER No. CXXVII.

BAULEAH.

The 9th January, 1769.

TO EDWARD HARDWICKE, ESQ.

Dear Hardwicke,

Your good wishes of the 7th March presented to me by Mr. Darell was followed by the smiling bounties of the goddess Fortune. After two years

soured by disappointment, the change of my situation is most pleasing, and the more so, as my accepting the station I now hold was so little expected that it had been promised to another. You perceive age creeps upon me and that I write in a strain of dotage, for who but I, the little hero of my tale. How justly egotism is annexed to years I cannot determine. I own for my part that I reap a pleasure in communicating to my friends the little circumstances that variegate my life, flattering myself, if they are not much, they however are a little interested in my prosperity. What a sum of money have you ordered me to get ere I think of quitting India. I had flattered myself that with much less I might have been permitted to have crossed the water and intruded upon that puffy companion that molests you so, and in complaisance, I think Mr. Gout could do no less than be easy at such times. One ailment as the world runs ever taking place of the other, I sincerely wish I may soon have the pleasure of putting this to the test, for I much doubt the truth of the position.

You must exert your utmost influence to remove the bar which now obstructs the views of your friend Mr. Darell. The Presidency is not a place for any man to make a fortune at; any of the subordinate factories are to be preferred to the most lucrative employments at Calcutta; I mean such as gentlemen under Council are entitled to there. Therefore he must absolutely relinquish his Sub-Accomptant's post.

Mr. Maddison, etc. etc., are too sensible of what they owe to your kindness not to give you an account of themselves, and all the little family anecdotes they imagine may tend to amuse you. For my part I can only repeat the voice of the community which ushers in the name of Maddison with praise, and Darell is esteemed by all who know him.

India affairs and India itself is become a scene of contradictions. I wish the scribblers joy of it with all my heart, those pen champions of liberty and real spoilers of freedom!

God grant you better health, my Friend.

I am etc.,

BAULEAH,

The 9th January 1769.

TO MR. HENRY TOPHAM.

Dear Topham,

I am obliged by yours of the 12th November. The letter enclosed for Mr. Fairfax has been forwarded, but that said to be enclosed for Baber from his sister I did not receive.

My sentiments regarding the payment of the navy donation I am apprehensive will be found too just. I wish I had been mistaken for, believe me, I feel severly for your disappointment and for my friend Afflick.

I would recommend it to you to apply to Mr. Ralph Leycester for such information as you want to obtain of Mr. Tinker's effects in this part of the world with respect to the Rs. 28,000 which you imagine passed through me to Mr. Spencer. I can only reply that on referring to my books I found no trace of such a transaction, nor do I recollect any circumstance that leads to it. As I was to leave the Settlement soon after Mr. Tinker sailed for Europe, he appointed Leycester G. V. and I. G., I believe, his attorneys. I have wrote to Majendie to forward you the power of agency properly authenticated by a notary publick. But as neither myself nor Majendie are agents he has to seek for that power before he can send you an attested copy.

I send you a copy of all the papers with your attorneys.

When you see Captain Afflick remember me to him, and assure him I shall be happy in every opportunity of expressing my esteem for him, as I shall to you.

We go on in the old way and shall do I suppose till we have ploded away the golden views of the nation.

Adieu for the present.

I am etc.

LETTERS Nos. CXXIX—CXXXI.

Mr. William Majendie in account with Mr. Henry Topham.

Mr. H. Topham to Mr. W. Majendie.

Mr. H. Topham to Messrs. R. Barwell and W. Majendie in regard to his share of "the Nabobs' Donation" as purser of the *Medway*.

LETTER No. CXXXII.

January, 20th 1869.

TO HIS SISTER.

My Dear Sister,

I have been favored by your letters of the 15th April, 21st July, 31st October, 7th November, 1767, and one of the 4th of March 1768. After the acknowledgment of so many repeated instances of your kindness, you possibly suppose I had no reason for dissatisfaction. It is true that, now all your tokens of remembrance are ranged before me, I have not; but, as the disappointment of our wishes too strongly affect us to render us at all times

capable of reflection, I must confess that for an instance I have deemed you unkind, because a packet has been opened and no letter presented me from you. Such is the unreasonableness of friendship that the more it is indulged the more it craves. This confession which has escaped my pen I perceive must necessarily be attended with this remark—that I have expressed my own feelings and not been overmindful of yours, for, though reciprocal, love claims reciprocal attention. For two letters you send me I return you but one. What reply can I make to such a charge? My heart overflowing with affection tells me I am not guilty, whilst my memory upbraids me with the justness of the accusation. In this dilemma I appeal to yourself to judge the esteem I bear you and to justify that remissness I most condemn.

The letters you sent for Atkinson have been delivered to him. I am glad I have it in my power to acquaint you that the Governor & Co., have dropped their design of sending him to England, which I attribute in great measure to the obliging interposition of Mr. Becher. This merits, in my opinion, a letter just noticing your being informed of such an act of kindness and requesting the continuance of his patronage to Atkinson: it cannot have a bad effect and may produce good.

With respect to Miss Atkinson's voyage to India, I have promoted it as an object I thought you had at heart, for, believe me, she will find it more eligible to prefer a decent situation in England to that she might enjoy in India. It is true that Hymen's fane is as much frequented here as usual, but his votaries are not so loaded with peace offerings of gold and silver.

I now beg permission to return to myself. In your letter of the 15th of April, you have requested, with the pleasing earnestness of friendship, some account of my affairs, and what I should like to have, and in what method you should proceed, I supposing you had power to forward my interest. How can I point out the mode, which must depend entirely on circumstances and the disposition of those it might be necessary to address? I can only say I would spend five thousand pounds to secure to myself the chiefship of Dacca, and to supervise the collection of the revenues of that province and which is not at present annexed to the chiefship. I would spend the same sum to procure to myself the Patna chiefship and collection of the revenues. These stations might be procured me without the exertion of that influence which is absolutely requisite to list me above those gentlemen who superseded me from Madras, but if the latter could be done I should prefer it, as my rank in Council, I do suppose, might with greater propriety countenance my being advanced to either of those stations I have just now noticed. For such a promotion and a proper support in England, I would not scruple to lay out ten thousand pounds; and if it can be effected, you may speak to Mr. Beaumont, whom I by this letter, request to engage himself to draw upon me for the sum, for

I have not money in England—otherwise this expedient would not be necessary.

By the common course of succession, I shall, in all probability, be in Council by January 1770, and should those gentlemen (the factors who superseded me in 1760) be set aside, it may not be three months before I am taken into Council. In every station I have hitherto filled I have acquitted myself with reputation. The gentlemen in India in many of their letters to Europe have publickly testified their approbation of my conduct ; the Court of Directors, for these three years past, have strongly recommended that my services be considered, and that, as far as is consistent, I be promoted : but words are the only rewards I have as yet received. However, those might be made subservient to my advancement, if I had that friend in the Direction who had power as well as ability to assist me, and if you raise up to me such a friend, I shall be much indebted to you ;

I am, My Dear Sister,
Your Most Afft. Brother

LETTER No. CXXXIII.

CALCUTTA,

October 3, 1769.

TO A. BEAUMONT, ESQ.

[Of no interest].

LETTER No. CXXXIV.

The 4th October 1769.

TO HIS FATHER.

Honored and Dear Sir,

By the ships now arrived you have favored me with two letters, one dated the 20th October 1768 and the other without date per *Lord Holland* which ship left England in February 1769.

As my brother Roger (who has been induced to take a trip to Europe by ill health and disappointments) is capable of giving you information of many particulars, and ought not to be ignorant of any transactions previous to his quitting India, I will not trouble you with a recital of any occurrences but such as are subsequent to his departure.

The misunderstanding between Mr. Aldersey and me has influenced me to quit the Cossimbazar factory, and you will find from the publick records the

reflections which the conduct of my predecessors have drawn upon them. I assure you I think myself very happy that I relinquished in my station at Bauleah those advantages termed emoluments of office which not being defensible I feel a real pleasure in the exception the Governor has made in his representation to the Board of my conduct in office to that of others. I enclose an extract from the Consultations on which his letter on this subject is entered.

A selection of the servants is talked of to fill the vacancies at the Board, and I have been given to understand that the honor of counsellor is to be conferred on me in preference to those gentlemen who superseded me in 1760. Should this be the case I shall not have much reason to complain of the objection made to those gentlemen, my seniors in the service, an objection that introduced the four gentlemen from Madras to this Presidency, but should it not take place I must say I have been greatly injured. The exception to those gentlemen who are my seniors has been the cause of my being superseded by the four gentlemen from Madras. If that exception is now overruled, and Messrs Reid, Hare, etc. are chosen members of the Council before me, I am then doubly superseded. How it will be determined a month more will clear up, till then I must doubt the intentions of those who have so often disappointed expectations they themselves have given me reason to entertain. However, in justice the servants of the year 1758 are properly senior to those of 1760, and thus in fact I am senior to those who appear to be my seniors. The longest course of service is certainly the real test of seniority. I mention this, as I do suppose it will be a foundation for the strongest arguments in support of the measure whenever it is executed.

A system has been proposed for collecting the revenues of these provinces and universally approved when proposed.* Since that the gentlemen of Council seem very indifferent to the carrying of it into execution. His Excellency the Nabob has wrote publickly to have the scheme postponed, and God knows whether private considerations may not supersede the publick good. The Company's possessions whilst the present mode of collecting the revenues is continued, appear to me precarious: all the revenues is anticipated for the payment of the army and for the provision of the Company's investment. Should then an enemy invade the country the zemindars will naturally withhold their rents, and if Mahomed Raza Cawn on whom the officers of Government are entirely dependent, carries on any private intrigues, how easily can he influence a total stop to the collections. What then is to support the army? In such exigency the sending up Europeans to make the collections will be of little consequence. Three months must

* Barwell is referring to the system of Supervisors.

elapse before the collections can be put upon any tolerable footing; in the interim the soldiers must live upon air or desert to the enemy.

As I have postponed writing to the last moment you must excuse the abruptness of this scrawl.

My account I have received and shall be obliged if you yourself will make up my bond and draw upon me for whatever is due thereon.

My hearty prayers request health to you and to the satisfaction of receiving in person your benedictions. My duty I tender through you to my dear mother and affection to my brothers and sisters.

I am etc.,

LETTER No. CXXXV.

4th October, 1769.

TO RALPH LEYCESTER, Esq.

My Dear Friend,

I esteem myself very much indebted to you for your obliging letters of the 4th October 1768, and 15th January 1769, and, as I wish for a continuance of your esteem, I need not enlarge on the pleasure I reap from the assurances you have given me of your fixed attachment. It is sufficient that you are convinced of my regard, and indulge me with a reciprocal return. I rejoice with you on the increase of your family, and every domestick and parental happiness you enjoy. Mrs. L.—I am informed has her health perfectly well. I heartily wish her and you a continuance of that chief blessing in life.

As you are desirous to know of the state of the revenue and treasury, the intelligence you have received by the ships of last year I confirm. The system of collecting was bad from the first. The Company are at last convinced of it, and Verelst has acknowledged it with the best grace possible. Supervisors are appointed to all the districts. A plan has been laid down by V—and approved by the Board, but His Excellency M. R. Caun, not liking the new system, has put off the evil day. The Council are grown cool, and when it will be executed is to me a secret. I hope, however, private considerations will not explode a measure absolutely necessary for the welfare of the country and of the Company. The first is in a degree ruined by exactions, and the second may for want of revenue [unable] to pay the troops. The military charges and investment anticipate the revenue. The Zemindars, on the least appearance of troubles, are ever ready to withhold their rents, and, being entirely dependent on M. R. Caun. If that man carries on any intrigues, how easily can he prevent a rupee coming into the publick treasury. In this exigency of affairs, gentlemen must be sent up, but then

may it not be too late? Will not three months atleast elapse before the necessity of the measure is perceived, and the gentlemen enabled to put the country into tolerable order, and remit any considerable revenue? If so, in the mean time, how must the soldiers live—the treasury empty and no money coming in from the country for three months?

A selection of servants is talked of to fill the Council Board. I shall have no reason to complain if I am chosen, but if the appointments give Reed, Hare, etc., a preference to me, I think I have great reason to complain. The objections to those gentlemen occasioned the appointment of the four gentlemen from Madras; if that objection is overruled I am doubly superseded, but, if I have a preference to which I am entitled by length of service—the real test of seniority—I then remain only superseded in the manner the whole body of servants have been. I do not wish for any selection, but I think in justice the servants of the years 1758 and 1759 have a right superior to Reed, etc., who are servants of the year 1760. I shall write you by the next ship more fully. In the mean time I must beg you to remember me to Charlton and apologize for my laziness in not writing by this conveyance. Adieu.

LETTER No. CXXXVI.

CALCUTTA,

The 5th October 1769

TO RICHARD BARWELL, ESQ.

Honored and Dear Sir,

Your favor of the 24th September 1768 reached me last July. Agreeably to your commands I shall apply to the Governor and Council for bills to the amount of my bond made up with interest for the proceeds of your coral. You observe that I did not send to you my bond. What end, my dear Uncle, would it have answered to send you my bond payable in India? The usage here in such case is to make out a bond and lodge it with any friend on behalf of the lender, and when the lender requires payment, to take up the bond so lodged and remit the amount conformably to his orders. Enquire of any gentleman who has resided here in Bengall, and they will give you the same information.

By the next ship I flatter myself the Company will be pleased to grant bills. At present the gentlemen are not inclined to give drafts, and, indeed, unless the exchange is made more advantageous to the remitter the rate, it has been fixed, amounts to an exclusion. Two shillings for a rupee is so very low, that, unless I had your positive orders, I would have waited for a better opportunity.

The father-in-law of John Harris deceased (Captain Swallow) took charge of his effects. Nothing belonging to that estate was ever under my charge. I am therefore a little surprised at your question "what is become of the property of John Harris under your care" as if I had been the administrator or executor to the deceased—a mistaken notion which I must suppose you entertained from the notice I took of that gentleman at your request and recommendation. The diamond trade here is confined, and as the gentlemen in station engross the whole for the remittance of their own fortunes, no purchases but to a very trifling amount can be made by any of the merchants.

I am glad to hear from some of my friends that you enjoy your health. If my wishes can insure to you a continuance of it, neither gout nor any other disease will trouble you. My duty and love await you and I am etc.,

LETTER No. CXXXVII.

CALCUTTA

The 24th December, 1769

TO RALPH LEYCESTER, Esq.

My dear Leycester,

Your letter of the 16th March 1769 like other friendly tests of your remembrance gave me a most sensible satisfaction. I have not another correspondent I wish to hear from oftener or whose letters I peruse with a more heartfelt pleasure. You may imagine then I have no small interest in commending myself to your esteem when I am to reap sweets so very agreeable to my taste ; and was I to say necessary to my happy existence in this barking clime, I should not speak very hyperbolically, because I have a real sincere regard, for you, and should feel a dissatisfaction and regret, was accident or human caprice to deprive me of your esteem. It is vain to dwell on a subject inexhaustible. I will talk then a little like the folks of this world. Upon Verelst's departure, which will be on Wednesday next, I am to have the honor to fill his vacant seat in Council. I wish to God I may have honor sufficient never to swerve from those principles which should ever direct the sentiments of men in publick station to advance the publick interests and to secure possessions which by anticipations of the revenues I must deem precarious. Should a bold enemy dare to invade, and but for a small space of time elude our efforts to bring him to an engagement, judge yourself from the following state. An universal scarcity of grain, the want of rain in the months of August, September and October so entirely destroyed the November crop that of all the paddy sowed not a single grain came to perfection, and not above two thirds of the paddy in the August crop. All the western districts of Bengall and Behar

are in a terrible condition, and in most places rice sells at the rates of 8 and 12 seers per rupee. Our treasury is without a rupee. The arrears to the Civil List about three lacs and arrears of three months pay to at least 15 battalions of our seapoys. To defray this anticipation of the revenues the remittances formerly made to China is stopped. This expedient, in my humble opinion, must be extremely inadequate to the end purposed, for the revenues of this year, when the husbandman has been ruined by the badness of the season, must necessarily dwindle, and this decrease of revenue I do suppose will be at least 60 lacs. Therefore besides the deficiency to the Army and Civil List, provision must be made for this accidental decrease of 60 lacs. How to do this effectually, the only means I can perceive is to put a stop to the advances on the Company's investment and run in arrears to his Majesty (Shah Allum) or take 20 lacs from his Excellency's allowance of 40 as a loan to the Company. There are no other resources, the military charges, charges collections and Civil List swallow up the residue of the Company's income.

I should be much obliged to you, my Friend, if you would speak to Mr. Vansittart and Mr. Sullivan about getting me restored to my rank in the service. I am a servant of the year 1758, consequently senior to the gentlemen of 1760. The Company in many of their letters have done me credit by the manner in which they have mentioned my name, and in one of their last have gone so far as to particularly recommend me for promotion as far as was consistent with their service. Now at the time this para was wrote, if I had had a friend in the Direction, that would have recollect the supersession in 1760, and I should assuredly have obtained my rank. My conduct in the service will, however, still serve as an argument if Mr. Sullivan and Mr. Vansittart or either of them are pleased to confer upon me so lasting an obligation as I shall deem the obtainment of my rank. I will not say more. I trust in your friendship to do me this most essential piece of service. My sincere and hearty wishes wait you. Pay my respects to Mrs. Leycester and give my little acquaintance, Ralph, a kiss.

I am etc.,

P.S.—I send you a pipe of Madeira by Captain Clements; I expect one bumper to be drunk to my health.

P.S.—The Cossimbazar investment has afforded Verelst an opportunity to expatriate on the rapacity of the Company's servants of the lower class. I wish for the sake of the Service that the frauds pointed out at Bauleah had not been noticed, but measures taken to prevent such mismanagement in future. However as things are as they are, I told Mr. Verelst it was necessary he should add to the letter he had written on the subject what he thought in justice due to me, that I could not permit the remarks that had been made to be sent to Europe, for my name not being mentioned and it being known

not only to the Direction but my friends that I was the last Resident, every one would imagine I was censured by those remarks equally with the gentlemen that had given cause for them. At last his Honour was pleased to give the enclosed attestation in a minute in addition to his letter about the Bauleah frauds which shew Mr. Van[sittart] and Sullivan. R. B.

Extract from Fort William Consultation the 19th June 1769.

The President likewise begs leave to remark that in justice to Mr. Richard Barwell he must acquaint the Board that during his Residency at Bauleah a regular account has been given of the quantity of silk of the Company's assortments allowed for at the time of sale, and that it was from Mr. Barwell's representations he received the first information of some of those oppressions, and the outstanding balances of the factory of Bauleah have been considerably reduced under Mr Barwell's management. A true extract.

Sd/-Edward Baber, *Secretary.*

LETTER No. CXXXVIII.

CALCUTTA,

The 24th December 1769

TO MR. JAMES BARWELL.

Dear James,

I have received your several letters with the newspapers, pamphlets and plays. These little tokens of remembrance give me a more sensible pleasure than all the labored letters filled with professions of regard that you could possibly have written to me. I think I must have been often in your mind, as all these little papers you have sent must have been picked up at several times. I hope you will continue to think I merit your warmest affection and that I glow with an equal esteem. I am not fond of making a show of my love, but remain convinced, my dear Brother, that I have a heart good and sincere and ever ready to receive the impressions of your attachment. As Roger is by this time with you any circumstances that have an immediate relative to self I must suppose you are fully informed of. I am grieved at what my Father writes me about the ship I hoped you was to command. I so little expected the bad news that I was struck with surprise on reading his letters. Unless my Father was certain of his being able to introduce a ship into the service he ought not to have wrote me in the manner he did, for I cannot but think it exposes me in a light I do not wish to appear in to those gentlemen who have been so kind as to be your owners. Farewell, dear James, I am etc.,

LETTER No. CXXXIX.

CALCUTTA,

The 24th December 1769

TO EDWARD HARDWICK, Esq.

Dear Hardwick,

I am much obliged by your friendly epistle of the 7th March 1769. As we are all liable to disappointment in our pursuits in this as in any other clime, I had long since reconciled to myself the unkindness of those I thought my friends. Political connections have been the bane of numbers, and I can now plainly see my removal from Malda was made a point by Mr. Sykes, and that to his views of profit and resentment I was sacrificed. The injury is long past; yet I cannot reflect on it without some degree of emotion and sentiments unfavourable to that gentleman's character for honesty and benevolence. By this conveyance Mr. Verelst goes for England. A long residence in Bengall and the adulation men in so elevated a station as that he filled are accustomed to, I apprehend, have spoiled him, but you, who are on the spot, will be able to judge whether he is or is not mortified by the level to which he must sink, unless he is pleased to render himself ridiculous and despicable by assuming to himself a degree of consequence no independant gentleman will allow him.

I feel much for the effects of that violent disorder which afflicts you; its regular increase makes me apprehensive it may shorten a life that is dear to me, for when my fortune leads me to England I shall lose one of the pleasures I purpose to myself if I do not find you amongst the rest of my friends. I intend to follow your advice and not quit this country, until I can take with me a sum equal to answer the purposes you mention. This I hope I may be able to effect in four or five years. I take my seat in Council on the departure of Mr. Verelst; and, if I had my proper rank, I should be 8th in Council; whereas I am now the last; a very essential difference to me. At present I stand no chance of a subordinate, and in the other case I should almost immediately obtain one. Mr. Becher goes for Europe in November next and Mr. Kelsall probably will likewise depart. I do not know whether you have any interest with a particular or a number of the Directors, but, if it is in your power to serve me, I flatter myself your friendship will lead you to solicit for my advancement. The gentlemen who are above me are Messrs. Reid, Jekyll, Hare, and Lane. They are servants of the year 1760, whereas I am a servant of the year 1758. In consequence of objections to these gentlemen Messrs. Russell, Aldersey, Kelsall and Floyer superseded me from the Coast. No objection was ever made to me, so far from it that at the very time the Directors approved of the translation from Madras they

All monies tendered into the Company's treasury from this day to the 1st day of November 1770 and it [be at] the option of the proprietor either grant interest notes payable in one year or engage to give receipts for such sums as are paid in for bills to be granted by the 1st ship to be dispatched after the 22nd November 1770 which receipts are to bear an interest at the rate of 8 per cent until the bills are granted.*

That three sets of bills will be drawn, each set for one third of the sum paid in, the first set to become payable at three hundred and sixty five days sight, the second set at seven hundred and thirty days sight and the third set at one thousand and ninety days sight ; these bills to bear an interest at the rate of 3 per cent. per annum from ninety days sight to the day of payment. The exchange to be at two shillings and three pence the current rupee to Company's servants civil and military, and two shillings and two pence half-penny to free merchants and all others.

LETTER No. CXLI.

CALCUTTA,

The 25th December 1769.

To WILLIAM BARWELL, Esq.

Honored and Dear Sir,

I have already paid my duty to you by the ships of this season, but led on by the evil spirit of procrastination the morrow scarce leaves me time to express the warmth of filial sentiment which binds me to you in the strongest tyes of affection. It is with difficulty (I blush whilst I own it) that I prevail on myself to set down to write ; and yet when I am once set down, no man can reap a more sensible pleasure than I do in addressing my friends, my Father my best and dearest Friend.

I mentioned that there was likely to be a contest in filling the vacant seats at the Board ; that the Governor was for selecting and others for seniority. The majority being for succession by seniority, the Governor's system of advancing by selection has been overruled ; this has mortified him not a little, and your son instead of coming in 8th in Council comes in the last. I shall take my seat on the departure of this ship when Mr. Verelst quits India. The supersession in 1760 is a very severe stroke upon me, more especially as those gentlemen who then superseded me, gave Lord Clive a pretext by objecting to them to call the four gentlemen from Madras. Nothing was ever

urged to my prejudice, my character has been ever respected, and my conduct repeatedly approved of even at the very time the Court of Directors gave a sanction to Lord Clive's measures and condemned Messrs. Reid, Hare, Jekyll and Lane amongst others for the reasons Lord Clive alleged for setting them aside. They at that very time particularly recommended me for promotion, in words not less strong than these "and we recommend it to you to promote Mr. Barwell as far as is consistent with our service." Surely at the time if a friend in the Direction could have remembered I was superseded in 1760 I might have obtained my rank. I ask only for what the custom of the service gives me some right to expect. I do not want to supersede, satisfied not to be superseded. Is it not then very mortifying to suffer for the blunders and follies of others, and instead of promotion, to stand superseded by the gentlemen of Fort St. George and the four gentlemen factors of 1760? These gentlemen are now my superiors on the plea of seniority. Surely if there is any meaning annexed to this word we cannot define it otherways than a preference given to servants from the length of their term of service. Now I am a servant of the year 1758, have always served with fidelity, and honourable mention has frequently been made of my services by the Company, and as my character and conduct still stand unimpeached I cannot but think if you would deign to ask a favor for your son or demand it as his right, you might get me re-established in my rank that is put above the factors of 1760. But I fear it is vain for me to urge this so essential a point to myself to a parent whose age and infirmities (and was I to say a natural apathy I possibly should not err) make him in some degree too easy to give up the interests of his children. Let me, however, beg of you to consider that I am now at that period of life and station in the Company's service when a little assistance to obtain me my rights will possibly throw into my hands the means of acquiring a very handsome independence and being after you a father to the family. The golden days are passing swiftly on. Forgive me then whilst I exhort you to bestir yourself and to exert all the little influence you have. My brothers will be doubly considered in this stretch of kindness to me, for you will give them, by obtaining what I ask, a support which I am convinced they will stand in need of. I do not mince the matter, but speak my sentiments because I think it is absolutely necessary to probe to the very bottom. Pardon the liberty I have taken, if you cannot approve of it; though I flatter myself every principle of generosity and candor will rather excite you to be pleased with me for this stimulus to your affections which I hope will induce you to shew your love in actions. I have mentioned in my letter to you by Mr. Rumbold what I suppose the views of that gentleman, and as I do suppose he will be strongly supported and may possibly come out Governor, a close connection with him

may prove extremely beneficial. He carries home a large fortune—I believe, between two and three hundred thousands—, and is determined to expend a part to accomplish what he has in view. This will account to you for the letter which he will deliver, and at the same time put you on your guard to cultivate his acquaintance ; but, as I am not a judge of the reigning interests in Leaden-hall Street, you must make allowances if I have requested anything improper in that letter.

I cannot get at the Export and Import Ware House Keepers books, or I would have sent you the price current of the Company's imports and exports. When I have taken my seat in Council, my station will entitle me to call for and inspect these books. Therefore in the course of this season you may expect the price current you have desired me to send.

I have wrote to my Uncle by these ships, and presumed to touch upon the unhappy differences that subsisted betwixt you. If it has the wished-for-effect, concord and happiness will take the place of diffidence and discord. I most heartily pray for the sake of each, as well as the general interests of the families, that past inadvertencies and little accidental causes for disgust, heightened possibly by designing people, may be forgotten—at least that they may never be mentioned, otherwise a reconciliation, I fear, cannot prove of long duration, for the least notice once taken of the past will undoubtedly embitter the present.

The great riches expected from Bengall has been sunk in the Coast War, and the revenue so far anticipated to support that war that both time and address are necessary to extricate us from the difficulties with which we have to struggle. Exclusive of 3 lacks arrears to the Civil List three months' pay is due to atleast 15 battalions of our seapoys. To heighten this distress the little rain we have had in the year has destroyed the hopes of the husbandman, and a general scarcity of rice is felt throughout the provinces. This will naturally occasion a decrease in the revenue, and this decrease, I calculate, may be sixty lacks of rupees. To apply a remedy to the evil a stop is put to the remittances to China. This is a saving of 25 lacks. It is further determined by the Council to accept all monies that shall be offered for bills of exchange betwixt this and November next to pay off not a single bond and 'not to accept any Company's note in payment of any demand the Company may have on any individual. This may possibly raise 20 lacks more ; the rest must be so much from the investment, that is, the 60 lacks usually advanced for the investment. At present the Company is in the utmost distress for money for the necessary expence civil and military.

A bold daring enemy invading us at this juncture and eluding an engagement would, indeed, prove a misfortune. We should then have the army to pay and not the means of doing in our hands, for the zemindars

would certainly withhold their rents till compelled to pay. All political transactions are kept so close that there is scarcely a possibility of discovering the truth, but if publick intelligence may be credited, Hyder Ally is preparing himself for another war in the Carnatic. It is said he has entered into treaty with the Nizam and Maratroe, and that he is securing himself from any attacks of the Black Powers. If this is really true, it is a plain indication of his intentions to attack us, when he can do it with advantage, and with a probability of carrying his point. The French possibly instigate him, and he, it is likely, waits to take the benefit of their assistance or to assist them in case of a war and reduce the English power. We are looked upon with jealousy by all the Eastern Princes, and, considering how we are situated as to the Black Powers, it is no wonder that we have no external resources. All will readily combine against us. We must, therefore, act entirely from ourselves, repell encroachments upon us with the means we have, and look for no support in the time of trial, but in our own strength and Providence. It behoves then the Company to increase that strength as much as possible to give permanence to their possessions. The European force at present on this Establishment is very inadequate to the service; the brigades are not half complete as to privates, though complete as to officers. The seapoys are on a good footing, but their fidelity is to be dreaded.

I believe an appointment of a Resident to the Court of Suja-ul-Dowla will shortly take place. It is deemed necessary to keep that Prince, if possible, in good humour; likewise to engage his neighbours in a defensive treaty the dread of which should we have to repell an invader in Bengall, will probably detain him in his own country, however much he might be inclined to attack us at that juncture. Such an appointment will, I believe, be approved of at home, as it will answer many good ends and cannot be attended with any bad, unless a person sent be a downright fool or an absolute knave. General Smith who went home on the *Hampshire*, Captain Smith, is estimated worth between two and three hundred thousand pounds. See what station can do! See Mr. Rumbold to obtain me my rank, and you give me a subordinate, and then you will shortly hear what I can effect. Mr. Becher after a pretty hard struggle is continued at the Durbar; he purposed to resign that station sometime in November 1770 and to proceed to Europe by the December or January ship. Mr. Kelsall likewise resigns the service about that time, and Mr. Cartier, our Governor, had declared his intention of returning to Europe at the same period. I now take my leave and request a tender of my duty and affection to my dear Mother and love to all praying for your health and length of years, I remain etc.

LETTER No. CXLII.

CALCUTTA,

The 24th December 1769.

TO MR. WILLIAM HIRST.

Dear Hirst,

I will make the best return I can to your friendly letter of the 14th November 1768. The sin of procrastination, which you complain of, is doubtless a most extensive sin ; it reaches from the West to the East for it affects even your friend in Bengal. The statement of our account and the catalogue of books I have looked over, and I have just received information that the vessel on which our friend Colonel Champion put the box for me is arrived. The reason of its not reaching me sooner is the vessel's having lost her passage and put into Chittagong. I think myself under very great obligations to you for your kind remembrance of me. I have not the least doubt of finding both entertainment and instruction from the perusal of the books you have sent. I only miss Mrs. McAuly's History of England, the two first volumes of which you favored me with long since of. The bookseller remembers the binding. Get the other volumes bound like those; do not, however, forget to send the remaining volumes, be they cased how they may.

I am glad to find your friend (Mr. Vansittart) and mine (for I wish him to be so) has carried his point in the last struggle for the East India Directorship, and that he has brought in so many of his friends. I wish heartily [that] an end was put to those contests which have so much prejudiced the affairs of the Company, and that each party, if it is possible, was satisfied ; but I fear whilst ambition, resentment and interest sway the breast of man, so long the spirit of contention will reign. I am determined, therefore, not to trouble myself about the views of others, but live contented and as peaceably as I may be permitted. I beg you to present my respects to Mr. Van[sittart] and to accept half a pipe of Madeira which I have consigned to Beaumont who has my instructions to deliver it to you. It will be attended with no other expence to you than just the charge of clearing it from the quay. I thought you had become more of an Indian, or I should never have sent you the Otta which you tell me is like the salt that had lost its savor. The Calliper compasses gave me the bottle on paper pretty exact : to which I must observe that, small as it was, it cost no less a sum than 90 rupees (eleven pounds sterling). But I promise to forgive all the ill-natured things you have said (the above relative to the Otta and something relative to my having lost Lowth's grammar, if you might form your opinion from my letter), if you will only approve the wine and drink one good bumper to my health.

I will not trouble you with any of the talk of this place, how we expect Mr. Van[sittart], and a thousand alterations in the Government. I know you

would deem it all stuff of nonsense. Hancock has his health tolerably ; Mr. Hastings is arrived, and I hear well. If changes take place here, I hope he will once more reside amongst us. Remember me to Mrs. Champion when you see her, and do not forget my compliments to Mrs. Hancock.

Your very affectionate friend.

LETTER No. CXLIII.

CALCUTTA.

The 25th December 1769

TO HENRY VANSITTART, Esq.

Dear Sir,

I had the pleasure to address you by the ships of last season and continue to pay my respects in acknowledgment for the kindness I experienced in the latter part of your Government. It is with satisfaction I acknowledge the obligations you conferred upon me by the appointment of Accountant to the Committee of Restitution and the admission of my application to the Maulda Residency,—favors which I must ever remember and make mention of with gratitude. I congratulate you on the success you commanded in the late contest for the Directorship, and heartily wish it may enable you to accomplish those views which have led you to engage in so disagreeable a scene of contention. There is likewise something selfish in the pleasure I experience on this occasion. I flatter myself with your patronage to a request I have to prefer, it is to restore me to my rank. Your kindness encouraged me to hope I may obtain your influence to support the justness of my pretensions. Seniority has long been a rule of service, and few instances only can be mentioned of Company's servants rising to station by any other claim to a preference. As this is the case I am rather unfortunate who am a servant of the year 1758 to hold an inferior rank to servants of the year 1760, (Messrs. Harc, Reid, Jekyll) ; more especially as my conduct has ever been approved, and my character respected. Instances I can mention, but it is needless, as the several general letters to this Presidency have doubtless been perused by you. It suffices to say then the Company have often done me honor by the manner in which they have noticed my services ; and more particularly, when they approved of the translation of the four gentlemen from Madras to Bengall after admitting the objections made by Lord Clive to the gentlemen of 1760, they expressed themselves about me in terms not less strong than these "and we recommend Mr. Barwell to you for promotion as far as is consistent with our service." If I had had a friend in the Direction at that time who would have remembered the supersession in 1760, I might have been restorted to my rank. But instead

of promotion I now stand doubly superseded—superseded by the gentlemen from Madras and superseded by Messrs. Hare etc. These gentlemen afforded Lord Clive a pretext for the measure which gave to this Establishment Messrs. Russell, Aldersey, Kelsall and Foyer. All I ask and wish for is the obtainment of my rank, and as the longest course of service, I believe, will be admitted the certain test of seniority, my claim founded thereon, I will presume to request you to support and urge in my favor. The kind opinion my employers have entertained of me may be pleaded in my behalf, and whatever little merit the Directors shall be pleased to allow me, made conducive to redress the injustice of my remaining superseded by the gentlemen of 1760. I am so much concerned in the obtainment of what is mentioned that your goodness must excuse my prolixity and permit my endeavours to interest you in this so essential a point to myself to prevail. I am convinced, if you will be kind enough to take me by the hand and mention the thing to Mr. Sullivan with any degree of warmth, then my expectations will be fully answered, and a greater obligation added to those I have already received from you.

I have taken the liberty to send a pipe of Madeira by Captain Rous which Messrs. Leycester and Beaumont, my attorneys, will present to you. I wish it may prove worthy of your acceptance.

As the situation of affairs here and at Madras have been communicated to you by abler pens I shall not employ mine in the description. We all expect you to rule us, and some wish it, wherever you may be or whatever may be your pursuits. May health and content await you.

LETTER No. CXLIV.

CALCUTTA,

The 27th December 1769

TO RALPH LEYCESTER AND ANSELM BEAUMONT, ESQS.,

Gentlemen,

I sent by the *Hampshire* Captain Smith the 1st bill of exchange on John Burdett, Esq. for £4,054-9-2. The 2nd bill I now enclose with a bill of exchange on the French Company for £5,000. This Bill on the French Company I would have negotiated on its arrival, let the discount prove what it may, for I would rather abide by the first loss than stand to the risk of receiving it from the French when it becomes due. I have sent consigned to you by the *Royal Charlotte* two pipes of Madeira and by the *Britannia* Captain Rous 4 pipes of Madeira, in all six pipes, which you will be pleased to dispose of as follows :—1 pipe to Ralph Leycester, Esq., 1 pipe to Anselm Beaumont, Esq., 1 pipe to Henry Vansittart, Esq., 1 pipe to the Revd. Mr. William Hirst, half a pipe to

Richard Barwell, Esq., in Bread Street to be presented with my compliments in a note from either of you gentlemen; the remaining two pipes to be kept until my further orders. The expences of clearing the wine from the quay to be defrayed by the several gentlemen. No receipts are given for the wine as it is carried home on the Captain's privilege. You will therefore apply to Captain Clements of the *Charlotte* on his arrival and likewise to Captain Rous of the *Britannia* when that ship shall arrive.

It will give me great pleasure to receive an account of the produce of those adventures which I have troubled you with. I have been apprehensive lest they fall short of my expectations and you not have it in your power to answer my drafts of the last year. I hope, however, your regard for me influenced you not to suffer my bills to be protested, and that some means were found to save my credit. I must here return my thanks to my friend, Leycester, for his kind loan of £4,000 which Mr. Beaumont informs me he advanced towards the discharge of my draft in favor of Mr. Moore, his executors and administrators. The remittances which I have now effected remove all difficulties. I have drawn on you by these ships the following bills:—

1 sett in favor of Alexander Campbell, Esq., dated the 26th December 1769 being the second year's interest due 1st January 1770, amounting to £360 on my bond to that gentleman dated 1768 January 1st for principal £6,000.

1 sett in favor of Miss Mary Barwell for £100 dated 26th December 1769. Exclusive of these two setts of bills I drew on you gentlemen another sett for £360 in favor of Mr. Campbell dated 4th October 1769. Of this I sent advice to Mr. Beaumont; it is the amount of the 1st year's interest on my note to Mr. Campbell dated 1st January 1768. The drafts then given in the course of this year stand thus:—

1	sett to	Alexander Campbell	4th October '69	for	£360	@ 90day	
1	Do		26th December '69		360	Do	
1	Do	Miss Mary Barwell	26th December '69		100	Do	
<hr/>							
3	Setts of Bills			amounting to		820	

By the ships of next year I purpose you a further remittance of £5,000, and in the course of the same year may draw on you for £6,500. I give you this advice, as the bills will be at 90 days, and £1,500 of what is now remitted wanted to answer my drafts. The disposal of my monies I leave entirely to you, but if India stock falls very low, I could wish it engaged in that stock in the names of such people as may be confided in. My Father I desire to have consulted on the disposing of the votes. As I have nothing more to say on the subject of my concerns, I shall now take my leave with prayers for your welfare.

I am etc.,

LETTER No. CXLV.

CALCUTTA

The 27th December 1769

TO ANSELM BEAUMONT, Esq.,

Dear Beaumont,

In my letter to you and Leycester of the 26th I informed you, Captains Clements and Rous did not purpose to give receipts for the wine I had sent you on their ships. Since writing that letter I have obtained receipts which you will find enclosed. I likewise trouble you with a receipt for a pipe of wine belonging to Colonel Morgan which be kind enough to send to Mr. Dacres, who will clear it from the quay and is to keep it for the Colonel's use.

As you have not received any advice of the money I remitted on your account to Charles Bourchier, Esq., I enclose you a copy of the bill with the receipt annexed attested by the Notary Publick at Fort St. George. I cannot account for Mr. Bouchier's remissness in not intimating to you the receipt of my draft when it has so long been discharged, but great men, it has been remarked, some times forget themselves.

I shall esteem myself much obliged to you if you will get me a good strong chariot with my Father's arms and engage some one of the Captains to bring it out on freight, the freight to be paid in Bengall at the rate of 2/6 per Arcot rupee.

Do, my Friend, get those troublesome tedious concerns I am engaged in, settled as soon as possible, if not already finished, and which from your letters I hope may be the case. If you will engage your wine merchants to send me two chests of the best claret yearly it will prove very agreeable to me.

I enclose you an extract of my letter to Mr. Vansittart. If you have any friend in the Direction, or any friend that has influence with a Director you will do me a most essential piece of service by interesting him in my behalf. I have added to the extract some remarks on my being put over the gentlemen of my own fleet of 1758 to obviate any objections which gentlemen disinclined to allow the justness of my pretensions might raise.

You will write to me if you chuse to have the monies of yours in my hands remitted home, or whether you chuse to continue it with me. Whatever may be your instructions on that head will be scrupulously followed. Believe me at all times and upon all occasions, etc.

P. S. I had forgot that I was to have sent you the Governor's Minute which excepts me from the iniquities he has pointed out to have been practised in the time of former Residents at Bauleah.

P. S. To the letter addressed to Henry Vansittart, Esq., dated 25th December 1769.

LETTER No. CXLVI.

CALCUTTA,

The 26th December, 1769

TO RALPH LEYCESTER, Esq.

My dear Leycester,

Since closing my letter of the 24th I have addressed Mr. Vansittart on the subject of my remaining superseded by the gentlemen factors of 1760, and to the arguments urged to you I have added the enclosed P.S. Do, my Friend, take an opportunity to speak to Mr. Vansittart in support of my pretensions, and if you can prevail on yourself to stoop to ask a favor to obtain for me a point of most essential consequence, engage Mr. Sulivan in my behalf. I know your character is respected, and that when you please to exert yourself you are a most excellent advocate.

I am etc.

Lest any gentleman should object to me (unwilling to admit the justness of my pretensions to a preference to Messrs. Reid, Hare, etc., servants of the year 1760) that I superseded the gentlemen of my own fleet of 1758, that my name was the last on the list, and that the next year it was advanced to the top—to obviate this objection a recital of the fact becomes necessary. When I petitioned the Court of Directors to be appointed a Writer on the Bengall Establishment, some party difference subsisted betwixt Mr. Payne Chairman in 1757 and Mr. Sulivan, the then Deputy Chairman. My Father who inclined to promote Mr. Sulivan's views, gave umbrage by that partiality. Therefore at the time Writers were appointed to the several Presidencies Mr. Payne obeserved to the Court I was not of age. The Registrar of the ages of people born in Bengall was referred to, and it appeared I wanted eight days, in consequence of which the reading my petition was postponed to the expiration of those eight days, and the other gentlemen appointed. Of course as mine was a post nomination I appeared last upon the list, whereas I should have been the first. Mr. Sulivan when he came to the Chair had the matter represented to him by my father, and as party pique had so much injured me he put me on the list of Writers in the place where my name now stands and which I should have filled from the first, if Mr. Payne had not made that unkind observation above noted. The truth is known to Mr. Sulivan.

R. BARWELL.

LETTER No. CXLVII.

CALCUTTA.

The 26th December, 1769.

TO MISS MARY BARWELL

My dear Sister,

I wrote you a short letter by the first ship. As I am not certain whether I then acknowledged the several instances given me of your esteem I now express myself under obligation to you for the following most acceptable, as they really are most affectionate favors—one dated 30th October 1768, two dated 5th December 1768, one of which is a particular recommendation of Mr. Henkell and one of the 1st March 1769. Surely I cannot have been so remiss as to have sent you but one letter in a season. It is true I seldom take copies of the scrawls I address to you, and, therefore, I cannot positively assert what letters of mine may have miscarried. I think, however, some must have been lost, for I would not imagine myself culpable in a point of so much moment to the affection I bear you. For should the delicacy of your regard become wounded by an idea that it is possible I should neglect you, my dearest Friend, discontent would precede a cold indifference, and that indifference terminate, it is possible, (though not probable) in dislike. But—hence such thoughts—it can never be. I do not like writing I own, but when I am once set down, no person feels more real satisfaction in conversing with his friends, and as the distance that divides us is so great, it is incumbent on me to give you as much of my time as I may be permitted to employ so well. The intimation that you have been indisposed affected me much, and I should have felt it more severely if the hopes you give me of your returning health did not in some degree allay those apprehensions my love in despite of my reason, still makes me entertain. Be sure to take good advice whenever sickness afflicts you. What is money without health? The plowman is happier who enjoys it than that man whose riches and power shall obtain him everything except that greatest of blessings. For shame then do not grudge expence when it is so essential to your future happiness. Be convinced I would most cheerfully support any charge to give your mind and body their pristine vigor, and if at any time you want more money than that I present for your acceptance, apply without scruple to Mr. Beaumont. It is my wish that he advance it, and if you show him this he will not doubt, as it is meeting my approbation. By Mr. Fisher I send on behalf of Atkinson 50 gold mohurs and two small diamonds accompanied with a letter to you. The value of a gold mohur, I believe, is 26 shillings agreeably to assay made in the Tower of the same coin. The diamond drops, I think,

worth from 20 to 23 pounds. I enclose to your own disposal a bill of exchange on my attorneys for £100, out of which if you can afford to send me your picture (a half length) drawn in oil colours with a plain gilt frame it will oblige me. I have wrote to my Father very urgently about getting me restored to the rank I ought to hold agreeably to the term of my servitude. How he will be affected by my letter I cannot tell. I have pushed the point with my parent very home in a confidence that he will not be offended, for my reasoning is just, and the things to be obtained of the most essential consequence to my future aims to independency of fortune. However, if I am mistaken and my Father takes umbrage at my freedom, I sincerely lament my error and request his pardon. You will have an opportunity of judging, and if he is displeased make a copy of this paragraph and send it in an address from yourself with such arguments as you think best calculated to appease his anger and restore me to his love. Believe me I would sooner spend my life in India than occasion him an uneasy moment.

On the departure of this ship, I have the pleasure to acquaint you I take my seat at the Council Board. If I obtain my rank, I shall be the 8th instead of being the last member (which I now am) of the Council. This is so essential a difference that, whereas in the station of 8th I should obtain a lucrative appointment I must in my present station remain between three and four years in Calcutta without any such appointment. Such is the subject on which the letter I have wrote to my Father turns. I have likewise wrote to Mr. Vansittart to try if I can interest him in my behalf as I have to Messrs. Leycester and Beaumont, and I have engaged Captain Clements of the *Charlotte* who is now here to push it with his friends, Mr. Fitzhugh and Mr. Purling. In short I have done what I can to command success, and if my Father will but back my applications by getting the thing moved in the Court of Directors, I hope to prosper. Should you have any curiosity to see my address to Mr. Vansittart and chuse to make yourself mistress of the subject, desire Mr. Beaumont to permit you to take a copy from the copy I have sent him, but you must return it to Mr. Beaumont as soon as you have taken the copy that he may have it to refer to upon any occasion that may offer where he thinks the subject may be mentioned to my advantage.

Before I take my leave I must once more enjoin you to attend to the preservation of your health; the care you take of that is the most convincing proof you can give me of the sincerity of your attachment.

I am etc.,

LETTER No CXLVIII.

CALCUTTA.

The 26th December, 1769.

TO ALEXANDER CAMPBELL, ESQ.

Dear Sir,

I am obliged by your letter per favor of Captain Rouse whose interests, believe me, I would with pleasure promote led by that esteem which an acquaintance of some duration seldom fails to create, but as I have neither had the power nor the opportunity to serve him, I can claim but little merit for the inclination. I hope you have found England as agreeable as you must have imagined when you regretted here your incapacity to return to it. My situation is somewhat similar to what was then yours, and still worse, for the prospect is more distant.

As it may be in your power to render me most essential service I take the liberty to send you an extract of my letter to Mr. Vansittart. Do not make it publick lest it give offence to Mr. Van[sittart]. Besides you can shew the grievance I complain of in a much stronger light than I can pretend to display it in, as your knowledge of mankind and of letters is so superior to mine. Friends you have that can serve me, and I know you can be a most excellent advocate when you please.

I enclose two notes that have passed to and from Mr. Russell respecting the monies you left in my hands. I am concerned that from some neglect of my attorneys and some neglect in yours the first year's interest was not remitted when it became due on my bond.

As I suppose you may have been informed of some transactions of a very improper nature committed by the Residents of Bauleah, to obviate the wrong impression which a half-told tale might occasion I send you a copy of the Governor's minute in justification of my conduct. This minute which separates me from the group included in the remarks Mr. Verelst made on former mismanagement became necessary, as those remarks were general. I fear the many instances of misconduct which have been publickly exposed may draw upon the whole body of Company's servants suspicions they do not merit. I therefore hope those gentlemen who know us will vindicate and shield us from illiberal aspersions. My best wishes and respects await Mrs. Campbell and may content the source of happiness attend you through life.

I am etc.,

Enclosures.

[Of no interest].

[*To be continued*].

Burials at Calcutta.

1713—1755.*

1.	1713.	Aug. 14.	Cpt. Bower.
2.	"	" 24.	Jane Dewberry.
3.	"	" 25.	Martha Newland.
4.	"	" "	William Pearson, Purser of the <i>Marlborough</i> .
5.	"	Sept. 6.	Richd. Acam, Pilot.
6.	"	" 24.	Mrs. Willmere.
7.	"	Oct. 23.	Mrs. White, a Widow.
8.	"	Dec. 15.	Moses Wilkins.
9.	"	" 27.	Mr. Edward Prince of Ye <i>Cardigan</i> .
10.	"	" 27.	William Buchanan, Writer to Ye Dutch at <i>Hughly</i> .
11.	1714.	Feb. 15.	Cpt. Ryan.
12.	"	Apr. 22.	Mrs. Cath Cooper.
13.	"	" 23.	Richd, the son of Cpt. Williams, an infant.
14.	"	May 8.	Cpt. Herbert.
15.	"	" 22.	Mr March.
16.	"	" 28.	Mr. Geo Westted, Writer.
17.	"	June 6.	Mr. Montgomery.
18.	"	" 10.	Cpt. Bonner.
19.	"	July 7.	Edward Harding.
20.	"	" 18.	Cpt. Samuel Butcher.
21.	"	" 23.	Cpt. Righy.
22.	"	" 25.	Isaac Head, Junr.
23.	"	" 31.	Cpt. Craddock.
24.	"	Aug. 4.	Cpt. Richd. Holland.
25.	"	" 16.	Cpt. Bryan.
26.	"	Sept. 17.	John Gourdon, an Infant.
27.	"	" 20.	Henry Birdon, Company's Butcher.
28.	"	" 21.	Mr. Deborah Brown.
29.	"	Nov. 1.	Mr. Thomson, Factor.
30.	"	" 15.	Mr. Chamberlane of the <i>Bovry</i> .
31.	"	" 24.	Mr. Henry Loyd, Junr. writer.
32.	"	" 25.	Mr. Samuel Kindon, writer.
33.	"	Dec. 21.	Cpl. Goodman.
34.	1715.	March 2.	Mr. Patle, Counsellor, Consumption.
35.	"	" 18.	James Dogood, Company's musician, Dysentery.
36.	"	April 6.	Edward Welter, Lieutenant, Malignant fever.
37.	"	" 19.	Mr. Hanour, once Chief of the French Factory at Chandarnagur, melancholy and threw himself from Mr. Dean's balcony.
38.	"	May 25.	Edward Hastings, master of arms, Dysenterick fever.
39.	"	July 22.	Henrietta Gray, infant, fever and diarrhea.
40.	"	Aug. 19.	Ann Montgomery, a child, convulsions.

* See above p. 166.

41.	1715.	Sept. 17.	Thomas Simmonds, a child, consumption.
42.	"	Oct. 1.	Peter Corneilson, Pilot in the river, dy'd suddenly.
43.	"	" 28.	Nevil Scroop, Surgeon of a Ship, Dropsie and Consumption.
44.	"	Nov. 13.	Archibald Liston, Surgeon to a Ship, Hectick fever with an imposthumated breast.
45.	1716.	Jan. 26.	Barnaville, a child, angina and ardent fever.
46.	"	Feby. 7.	Mrs. Harnet.
47.	"	Mar. 18.	Mr..... Franks, writer, dyd suddenly.
48.	"	April 2.	Thomas Mossison, a child.
49.	"	" 11.	Mr. Jeremiah Whitchcot, merchant.
50.	"	" 13.	Mrs. Mary Tawk.
51.	"	" 27.	Capt. Francis Hillam.
52.	"	June 14.	Capt. James Darly.
53.	"	Aug. 23.	Mr. Thomas Cole, Merchant.
54.	"	" 26.	Mr. Thomas Breeze, Writer.
55.	"	" 26.	Henrietta Livesay, a child.
56.	"	Sept. 9.	Captn. Alexa. Reid.
57.	"	" 18.	Edward Eastings.
58.	"	" 22.	John Newton.
59.	"	" 29.	Mr. William Chappel.
60.	"	Oct. 3.	Captn. Roger Young.
61.	"	" 12.	Dr. Keen.
62.	"	" 27.	Mr. Pest.
63.	"	Nov. 6.	John De Chavne.
64.	"	" 6.	Mr. Philada Eyer, dyed at Ballasore.
65.	"	" 14.	Mr. Lobdale.
66.	"	" 23.	Captn. Matthews.
67.	"	Dec. 2.	Mr. Frances Simmonds.
68.	"	" 9.	Joseph Tooth.
69.	"	" 12.	John Veal, an infant.
70.	"	" 24.	Robert Fairweather, a child.
71.	1717.	Jany. 22.	Mr. James Ravenhill, Senior Merchant.
72.	"	" 22.	Captain Veal.
73.	"	" 22.	Mrs. Gray.
74.	"	Feby. 2.	Mrs. Wolfrassn.
75.	"	" 5.	Mr. James Boucher, Merchant.
76.	"	" 18.	Mary Colson.
77.	"	April 5.	Mrs. Mary Boucher.
77 A.	"	" 30.	John Tawk, an infant
78.	"	June 3.	Mrs. Veale, Widow.
79.	"	Aug. 10.	Henry Webb, Mariner.
80.	"	" 15.	The Rev. Samuel Briercliffe, Chaplain.
81.	"	" 21.	John Dewberry, Clerk.
82.	"	" 23.	Drue Deanc, Son of John Dean, Counsellor.
82 A.	"	Sept. 2.	Thomas King, Purser of the <i>Cardigan</i> .
83.	"	Sept. 21.	Nathameil Gollin, Free Merchant.
84.	"	" 26.	Richard Drue, Mariner.
85.	"	" 30.	Samuel Juice, Captn. of <i>Ye Faulconenbro'</i>
86.	"	Oct. 9.	Mr. Edmd. Mason, Factor in the Compa's Service.
87.	"	" 18.	Richard Price.

88.	1717.	Nov. 3.	Thomas Moore.
89.	"	6.	William Burford.
90.	"	17.	James Sinclair, Mate of Ye <i>Cambridge</i> .
91.	"	27.	George Dalton.
92.	"	Dec. 5.	William Hamilton, Physician.
93.	"	28.	The Hon'ble Robt. Hedges Esq., President.
94.	1718.	Jany. 16.	Captn. Antho. Ryan.
95.	"	24.	Catherine Warren.
96.	"	Feby. 2.	Stepney Maddox.
97.	"	20.	Robert Symonds, Infant.
98.	"	March 7.	Elizabeth Beaver, Do.
99.	"	May 3.	Edw. Richd. Westmacoat, Infant.
100.	"	20.	Mrs. Sarah Livesay.
101.	"	July 2.	John Goodwin, Ensign.
102.	"	8.	Captn. Charles Hammon.
103.	"	24.	Mack John Gorton, Infant.
104.	"	29.	James Wignell
105.	"	Aug. 2.	Mrs. Mary Wallis.
106.	"	Sept. 6.	John Lewis, Pilot.
107.	"	8.	Mr. William Berristord, writer.
108.	"	22.	John Jones, Mariner.
109.	"	Nov. 20.	Thomas Collet, Son of Captn. Thomas Collet, Commander of the Ship <i>Granham</i> .
110.	"	30.	Captn. Henry Harnet, Gunner of Fort William
111.	"	Dec. 1.	Venus Benson.
112.	"	2.	Mary Casltes, Infant.
113.	"	14.	Mary Clark, Do.
114.	1719.	Jany. 26.	Hannah Webb, Infant.
115.	"	30.	Elizabeth Rainbow, Do.
116.	"	Feby. 26.	Mary Townsend Do.
117.	"	March 5	Mrs. Eliza. Cooper.
118.	"	12.	Christopher Oates, Infant.
119.	"	25	Mary Beaver.
120.	"	28.	Elenor Oates, Infant.
121.	"	April 2.	Thomas Bass Do.
122.	"	2.	John Collier Do.
123.	"	3.	Samuel Oates Do.
124.	"	11.	Mr. John Osbaldeston, Factor in the Hon'ble Compa. Service
125.	"	Aug. 6.	James Morley, 4th Mate of <i>Prince Fredrick</i> .
126.	"	17.	Mary Beaver.
127.	"	22.	Mr. Jona. Cooper, Free Merchant.
128.	"	26.	Capa. James Laphorne.
129.	"	30.	Mr. Richard Bass, Mariner.
130.	"	Sept. 2.	John Knight, Do.
131.	"	13.	Thomas Haycroft, Musician.
132.	"	16.	Mr. Stephen Scott, Writer in the Hon'ble Compa. Service at Ballasore.
133.	"	30.	Mr. William Cowley, Factor in the Hon'ble Compa. Service.
134.	"	Oct. 18.	Captn. Peter Matson.
134A.	"	"	Richard Deane, Pilot, killed.

135.	1719.	Oct. 21.	Thomas Frazier, Surgeon.
136.	"	" 21.	Mr. Edward Ange, Factor in the Honble Compy. Service.
137.	"	Nov. 3.	Thomas Howell, Steward of the Hospital.
138.	"	" 5.	George Willis, Mariner.
139.	"	" 8.	Ann Crawshaw.
140.	"	" 15.	Mr. William Lievsay, Free Merchant.
141.	"	" 16.	Mr. William Hall, Free Merchant.
142.	"	Dec. 4.	Mr. Richd. Gregsone.
143.	"	" 13.	Capt. Charles Skirwin.
144.	1720.	April 11.	Mr. Baron Jeffs, Factor.
145.	"	May 30.	The Revd. Mr. Joshua Tomlinson, Chaplain.
146.	"	June 15.	Mary Townsend, Infant.
147.	"	" 20.	Elizabeth Townsend.
148.	"	July 18.	Edward Perring, 3rd Mate of Ship Croggs.
149.	"	" 24.	Mr. Isaac Berkeley, Merchant.
150.	"	Aug. 2.	Mr. Samuel Brown, Merchant.
151.	"	" 27.	John Coates, Infant.
152.	"	Sept. 7.	Mrs. Elizabeth Thomlinson.
153.	"	Nov. 9.	Robert Williams, Mariner.
154.	"	Dec. 3.	Mrs. Sarah Williams.
155.	"	" 4.	Captain Stephen Norgate.
156.	"	" 13.	..... Scott, Doctor of the <i>Duke of Cambridge</i> .
157.	1721.	Jan. 3.	James Williamson Esqr. 2nd of Council
158.	"	May 17.	Mrs. Elizah Belasyse, wife of Mr. Thomas Belasyse, Free Merchant.
159.	"	June 19.	John Gulielmus, Ensign.
160.	"	" 19.	Daniel Bright, Mariner.
161.	"	July 16.	Henry Tanner, Surgeon.
162.	"	" 21.	Mr. Thos. Whity, Factor.
163.	"	Aug. 1.	Robert Cotter, Infant.
164.	"	" 27.	Mary Clive, Infant.
165.	1722.	Jan. 24.	Jacob Pitt, Inhabitant.
166.	"	April 21.	John Eye of Council.
167.	"	" 28.	Margt., wife of Captain Charles Strong.
168.	"	" 28.	Henry Cross, Ensign.
169.	"	May 14.	John ; Son of John and Mary Cassels.
170.	"	" 25.	Robert Ely., Clark.
171.	"	July 5.	Peter Gayno, Clark.
172.	"	Aug. 19.	Captain William Gwillim.
173.	"	" 19.	Delaune Pridham, Surgeon of Ship <i>Desbouverie</i> .
174.	"	" 25.	Frances, daughter of Nathl. Townsend. Infant.
175.	"	" 28.	Adam Brown, Free Merchant.
176.	"	" 30.	John Graves, Mariner.
177.	"	Sept. 4.	Simon Hastings, Inhabitant.
178.	"	" 14.	Nathaniel, Son of ye Hon'ble Saml. Feake. Govr. Infant.
179.	"	" 15.	Stephen White, Free Merch.
180.	"	" 21.	Captn. George Biggiins.
181.	"	" 22.	Simon Flue, Mariner
182.	"	" 27.	Abraham Box, Mariner.

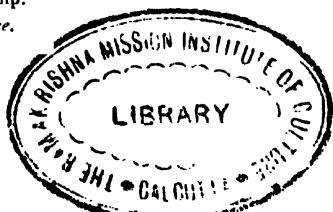
183.	1722.	Oct. 22.	Sarah, wife of Saml. Newton, Pilot
184.	"	24.	Samuel Griffith, Mariner.
185.	"	31.	Peter Orqueist, Mariner
186.	"	Nov. 8.	Ewout Glandorfh, Ensign.
187.	"	" 12.	Nathaniel Townsend, Sailor
188.	"	Dec. 4.	Mrs. Anne Mounteney.
189.	"	" 14.	Samuel Montgommery, Musician.
190.	"	" 22.	John Rainbrow, Pilot.
191.	1723.	Jan. 31.	George Graves, Musician.
192.	"	Feb. 4.	Elizabeth, ye Wife of Mr. John Stackhouse.
193.	"	March 8.	Henry ye Son of John Collier, Pilot, and Eliz his wife.
194.	"	" 21.	Captain Henry Dallabar.
195.	"	" 27.	Margaret ye. Wife of Captn. John Jones, Gunner.
196.	"	June 9.	Lewis Jordan, Inhabitant.
197.	"	" 13.	Eliza, Daughter of James and Eliza. Grimes, an Infant.
198.	"	Aug. 3.	Edward Lane, Mariner.
199.	"	" 4.	Edmund Thorne, Pilot.
200.	"	" 9.	William Osborn, Mariner.
201.	"	" 10.	Captn. William Gill.
202.	"	" 29.	Mr. William Cock, Free Merchant.
203.	"	Sept. 4.	George Graham, Mariner.
204.	"	Nov. 10.	John Mason, Mariner.
205.	1724.	Mar. 26.	The Rev. Mr. Joseph Paget, Chapn. of this place, dyed in Dacca.
206.	"	April 9.	Amelia Alloss.
207.	"	" 16.	Mr. William Bowridge, Junr. Mercht. in the Honble Comp's Service.
208.	"	May 13.	Cap. Theophilus Gammon.
209.	"	June 1.	Wentworth, Son of Mr. Willm. Johnson and Alice his wife, Infant.
210.	"	" 15.	Alice, the wife of Mr. William Johnson, Merchant.
211.	"	" 19.	Margaret, Daughter of Benjamin Cleaverty and Mary his wife.
212.	"	" 30.	Eliza, Daughter of Mr. Ben. Harnet, Jan. Merchant, and Ann his wife.
213.	"	July 6.	Robert Hill, Pylott.
214.	"	" 25.	Mrs. Gertrude Thelwall, wife of Capt. Richd. Thelwall.
215.	"	Aug. 1.	John Crofts, Jeweller.
216.	"	" 9.	Mr. Robert Turner, Factor in the Hon. Comp's. Service.
217.	"	" 23.	Mr. John Surman of Council in Bengal.
218.	"	Sept. 13.	Mr. Nathl. Hall, Factor, dyed at Dacca.
219.	"	" 21.	Robert Burton, Purser of Ship <i>Aistabik</i> .
220.	"	" 22.	Elizabeth, wife of Mr. Robt. Lavers.
221.	"	" 22.	Mrs. Sarah Stevens.
222.	"	" 30.	Mary, the wife of Thomas Coales.
223.	"	Oct. 3.	John Pearce, Inhabitant.
224.	"	" 3.	Elizabeth, wife of Alexr. Ramsay.
225.	"	" 18	Robert White, Mariner.
226.	"	Nov. ..	Benjamin Corbet, Surgeon at Cossimbazar.
227.	"	Dec. 31.	Thomas, Son of Capt. Richard Pearce, born at Tonqueen.
228.	1725.	Jany. 22.	William Johnson, Infant.
229.	"	Mar. 17	Harry Moor, Under Jemindar.
230.	"	April 18	James Shaw, Infant.

231.	1725.	May 13.	Thomas Cassels, Infant.
232.	"	14.	Mr. Peter Markland, Factor.
233.	"	July 21.	Edward Gamage, Surgeon of Ship <i>Eyles</i> .
234.	"	Aug. 2.	John Cassels, Pilot.
235.	"	" 4.	James Warland, Infant.
236.	"	" 30.	Francis Pybus, Mariner, died at Cossimbazar.
237.	"	Sept. 2.	Sophia Armstrong, Infant.
238.	"	" 5.	John Bolton, Mariner.
239.	"	" 25.	John Cole, Mariner.
240.	"	" 30.	Benjamin Skinner, Gun'r Mate of Fort William.
241.	"	" 30.	Charles Fazakerley, Mariner, died at Cossimbazar.
242.	"	Oct. 12.	Mary Oustock. A Mustee.
243.	"	" 16.	John Gooding, Mariner.
244.	"	Nov. 3.	Jonathan Marley, Mariner.
245.	"	" 3.	John Gibbs, Mariner.
246.	"	" 9.	Thomas Gold, Mariner.
247.	"	" 30.	Patrick Pyott, Mariner.
248.	"	Dec. 28.	Henry Haixsellum, Midshipman of Ship, <i>Fordwich</i> ,
249.	"	" 30.	Richard Quelch Doct. Goodwin's servant.
250.	1726.	Mar. 10.	John Gallant, Gunpowder Maker.
251.	"	" 10.	Domingo Wife of Philip Parsons.
252.	"	" 21.	Benjamin Cleverly, Joyner.
253.	"	April 1.	Thomas, Son of Captn. Cave & Elizabeth, his wife.
254.	"	" 1.	Richard Cleverly, child
255.	"	" 14.	Elizabeth Levers, child.
256.	"	" 16.	Mrs. Mary Cleverly.
257.	"	" 19.	Mrs. Margaret Cassels.
258.	"	" 21.	Mr. Simon Mathews, Inhabitant.
259.	"	" 23.	Adam Wright, Mathematician
260.	"	" 23.	Ann Urlin Moore, child.
261.	"	" 27.	Mrs. Sophia Armstrong.
262.	"	" 30.	William Tompson, Musician
263.	"	May 6.	Mrs. Elizabeth Badman.
264.	"	" 15.	Thomas, son of Captn. Luton.
265.	"	" 19.	Elizabeth Debaume, child.
266.	"	" 25.	John Cahill, child.
267.	"	" 30.	Margaret, daughter of Captn. Murphey & Margaret, his wife, infant.
268.	"	June 5.	William, son of William Gammon.
269.	"	" 9.	Rober Singclear, Mariner.
270.	"	" 20.	John Myer, Steward of Ye Hospital.
271.	"	" 25.	Mr. Charles Watkins, Writer in Ye Hon'ble Company's Service at Dacca.
272.	"	" 30.	Daniel Wilkinson, Pilot.
273.	"	July 3.	Thomas Mackey, Mariner.
274.	"	" 31.	John Mincham, Midshipman of Captn. Small.
275.	"	Aug. 1.	Capt. John Gifford.
276.	"	" 8.	John Mann, Mariner.
277.	"	" 10.	Edward North, Inhabitant.
278.	"	" 11.	George, Son of Alexander Ramsay and Elizabeth, his wife.

279.	1726.	Aug. 15.	Peter Barton, Mariner.
280.	"	" 23.	Captn. William Jordan.
281.	"	" 26.	Roger Pattison, Mariner.
282.	"	" 31.	John Fergusson, Midshipman of Ye <i>Middlesex</i> .
283.	"	Sept. 13.	John Dick, Ensign.
284.	"	" 23.	William Goulding, Surgeon's Mate of the <i>Craggs</i> .
284A.	"	Oct. 6.	Thomas Hudson Captain of the <i>Dawson</i> .
285.	"	Nov. 8.	Henry Carew, Midshipman of the <i>Sarum</i> .
286.	"	Dec. 1.	Dr. John Sturt.
287.	1727.	Jan. 3.	Edward Partridge, Mariner
288.	"	" 7.	Mr. William Tipping Senr. Merchant
289.	"	" 15.	John Mayne Mariner.
290.	"	" 19.	Thomas Young.
291.	"	Feb. 27.	Captn. John Wyndham
292.	"	Mar. 7.	Hen. Spores, Mariner
293.	"	" 18.	Diana Derotah.
294.	"	April 15.	John King, Mariner.
295.	"	" 19.	Captn. John Washington
296.	"	May 5.	John Forester, Factor in Ye Hon'ble Comp's Service.
297.	"	" 23.	John Wilmore, 3rd Mate of Ship <i>London</i> .
298.	"	June 8.	Captu. Hon. Cave, Gunner of Fort William
299.	"	" 22.	Brian Smith, Pilot
300.	"	" 27.	Thomas Hart Pilot.
301.	"	July 6.	Mrs. Betty Thelwall.
302.	"	" 22.	Hen. Houghton, Midshipman of Ye <i>Lion</i> .
303.	"	Aug. 28.	William Beal, Surgeon.
304.	"	Sept. 18.	John Davis, Surgeon.
305.	"	" 18.	Mr. Christopher Birkhead, Junr. Mercht. in Ye Hon. Compa's. Service.
306.	"	Oct. 20.	Samuel Bazett from St. Helena
307.	"	" 23.	Willm. Guenst. Farrier.
308.	"	" 27.	Eliz. Collier, Infant.
309.	"	Nov. 10.	Willm. Hosier, Inhabitant
310.	"	" 17.	Mrs. Mary Legat, Inhabitan-
311.	1728.	Jan. 1.	Joseph James.
312.	"	" 6.	Thomas Johnson.
313.	"	" 16.	Mrs. Eliz. Pomfret.
314.	"	Feb. 16.	Harriet Harnet, Infant
315.	"	" 24.	Captn. Willm. Troughton
316.	"	Mar. 17.	Mrs. Martha Eyc.
317.	"	April 30.	Mrs. Avarina Cooke.
318.	"	May 1.	Captn. Walter Forbuss, drowned
319.	"	" 25.	Thomas Fagnal Cave, Infant
320.	"	July 1.	Richard Gilman, Mariner.
321.	"	" 4.	Captn. William Shortbol.
322.	"	" 12.	Joanna Willowbuss, Infant.
323.	"	" 20.	Mr. Thomas Hawks, Inhabitant.
324.	"	Aug. 6.	John Guthere, Inhabitant.
325.	"	" 11.	May Allofze, Inhabitant.
326.	"	" 14.	George Turnwood.

327.	1728.	Aug. 23.	The Hon'ble Henry Frankland Esqr. Governr. of Fort William.
328.	"	28.	Mrs. Harriot Weston.
329.	"	29.	Sarah Taylor from St. Helena.
330.	"	30.	John Shores, Mariner.
331.	"	31.	Richard Mead Moore, Infant.
332.	"	Sept. 8.	Mr. William Rivet, writer in ye Hon'ble Comp' Service.
333.	"	11.	Mary Taylor, Infant.
334.	"	15.	Mr. James Milne, Midshipman of Ship <i>Heathcoat</i> .
335.	"	16.	Mr. Daniel Clande Jaminau.
336.	"	25.	James Grimes, Infant.
337.	"	29.	John Stephens. Pilot.
338.	"	Oct. 4.	John Roberts, Midshipman of Ship <i>Stretham</i> .
339.	"	26.	Elizabeth Harland.
340.	"	26.	Charles Osburn, 5th Mate of Ship <i>Stretham</i> .
341.	"	Nov. 16.	William Morphew, child.
342.	"	Dec. 18.	Christopher Curson, Parish-Clerk.
343.	1729.	Jan 10.	Capt'n. George Borlase.
344.	"	14.	Capt'n. Charles Strong.
345.	"	25.	Mr. Francis Milton, 3rd Mate of Ship <i>Stretham</i> .
346.	"	Feb. 14.	William Matthew Williams, Midshipman of ye <i>Heathcoat</i> .
347.	"	15.	Walter Harland, Infant.
348.	"	April 3.	Mrs. Mary Thelwall.
349.	"	25.	William Bates, Mariner.
350.	"	26.	Mr. Wm. Haskoll, Senr. Merchant in ye Honble Company's Service.
351.	"	May 20.	Joanna Willowbuss, Infant.
352.	"	June 2.	Margaret Meyrick, Infant.
353.	"	July 1.	Mrs. Jane Bellamy.
354.	"	14.	Alida Plank, Infant.
355.	"	18.	Henry Vanpice, Infant.
356.	"	18.	Andrew Anderson, Doctor's mate of Ship <i>Greenwich</i> .
357.	"	21.	Mr. Robert West, Surgeon.
358.	"	26.	Mr. Joseph Dimond, Mariner.
359.	"	29.	Mr. Bagnall Wallis, Mariner.
360.	"	Aug. 8.	John Turing, Doct. of Ship <i>Greenwich</i>
361.	"	20.	Mr. John Franks, Mariner.
362.	"	23.	Capt'n. Richd. Lassinby of Ship <i>Greenwich</i> .
363.	"	26.	William Macklery, Doct's. mate of <i>Europe Gally</i> .
364.	"	Sept. 7.	John Cole, Mariner.
365.	"	11.	Mr. George Slaughter, Midshipman of Ship <i>Drake</i> .
366.	"	13.	Richd. Taylor, Mariner.
367.	"	29.	Ann Harnet, Infant.
368.	"	Oct. 2.	Capt'n. Thomas Harding.
369.	"	26.	Edward Bowman, Inhabitant.
370.	"	Nov. 6.	Mrs. Elizabeth Grimes.
371.	"	15.	John Davis, Mariner.
372.	"	16.	Capt'n. Thomas Purnell.
373.	"	27.	Thomas Caley, Mariner.
374.	"	Dec. 1.	Giles Bateman, Inhabitant.
375.	"	16.	Join Herring, Inhabitant.

376.	1730.	March 9.	Capt. Jonathan Sommers of Ship <i>Duke of York</i> .
377.	"	" 14.	Ephraim Roberts, Infant.
378.	"	April 16.	Thomas Dennis.
379.	"	May 4.	Mr. Gerard Bourn, Inhabitant
380.	"	June 4.	Jacob Pitterson, Infant.
381.	"	" 6.	Felicia Harland, Inhabitant.
382.	"	" 19.	Mary Page, Infant.
383.	"	July 22.	Mr. John Plank, Inhabitant.
384.	"	" 27.	Ensign Dissidear.
385.	"	" 29.	John Huzford, Inhabitant.
386.	"	Aug. 3.	John Kelsall, Infant.
387.	"	" 6.	James Macleland Lyndsey, Inhabitant.
388.	"	" 7.	Capt. James Lewton.
389.	"	" 14.	Alexander Cuorry Mariner.
390.	"	" 28.	James Wills, Inhabitant.
391.	"	Sept. 8.	Mr. Willm. Horrocks, Mariner.
392.	"	" 11.	Anthony Willowby, Doctr. of Ship <i>Fordwick</i> .
393.	"	" 16.	Mary Beale, Inhabitant.
394.	"	" 19.	John Sayers, Inhabitant.
395.	"	Oct. 14.	Mr. Timothy Caswall, writer to ye Hon'ble Company.
396.	"	" 24.	Capt. Isaac Deveren.
397.	"	Nov. 2.	Mrs. Ann Cocke, Inhabitant.
398.	"	" 4.	Eliz. Taylor, Infant.
399.	"	Dec. 13.	Mrs. Eliz Coales, Inhabt.
400.	"	" 25.	John Dupperise, Mariner.
401.	1731.	Feb. 6.	Quintus Reynolds, Inhabitant.
402.	"	" 23.	Stephen Winston, Inhabitant.
403.	"	" 24.	Christopher Lumley, Mariner.
404.	"	Apl. 7.	Mr. Eliz. Hurdis, Inhabitant.
405.	"	" 17.	Eliz. Vanpice, Infant.
406.	"	May 16.	John Morphew, Infant.
407.	"	June 21.	Mr. John Dix, Senr Mercht.
408.	"	" 23.	Mr. Robt. Hanson, Pilot.
409.	"	July 10.	Thos Yates, Chief mate of Ship <i>Drake</i> .
410.	"	" 15.	Charles Smith, Mariner.
411.	"	" 16.	Mr. Henry Munday.
412.	"	" 24.	Mr. Thos. Fitzhugh, Purser of Ship <i>Derby</i> .
413.	"	Aug. 9.	Mr. Drew Deane, Writer.
414.	"	" 12.	Mr. Mary Reade, Inhabt.
415.	"	" 13.	Mr. Edwd. Carteret in Council.
416.	"	" 14.	Mr. Beckford Pellat, 3rd Mate of Ship <i>Drake</i> .
417.	"	" 15.	John Wood, Infant.
418.	"	" 20.	Mrs. Mary Hurdis, Inhabt.
418A.	"	" "	Capt. John Lawson of Ship <i>Frances</i> .
419.	"	Sept. 3.	Mr. John Murphey, Mariner.
420.	"	" 10.	Capt. Thos Garland.
421.	"	" 12.	Mr. Saml. Green, Purser of a Country Ship.
422.	"	" 14.	Saml. Mealy, Doctr's Mate of Ship <i>Drake</i> .
423.	"	" 17.	Eliz. Scurrier, Infant.
424.	"	" 23.	David Dore 3rd Mate of Ship <i>Frances</i> .



425.	1731.	Sept. 24.	Mr. James Symonds, Purser of the <i>Aislalbe</i> .
426.	"	" 26.	Mrs. Eliz. Barwell, Inhabit.
427.	"	" 28.	Mr. Joseph Crofts, 4th Mate of Ship <i>Drake</i> .
428.	"	" 29.	George Mullins, Infant.
429.	"	Oct. 10.	Mr. Charles Afflick, Duter.
430.	"	" 17.	Robert Turpin, Infant.
431.	"	" 24.	Mr. John Turpin, Mariner.
432.	"	" 29.	John Massey, Infant.
433.	"	Nov. 16.	Philip Pulwar, Infant.
434.	"	" 25.	Mr. Francis Hyde Burton, Writer
435.	"	Dec. 6.	Peter Dent, Inhabit.
436.	"	" 9.	Mr. Sarah Southen, Inhabit.
437.	1732.	Jan. 2.	Major Richard Hunt.
438.	"	" 6.	Samuel Winfield, Midshipman of Ship <i>George</i>
439.	"	" 18.	Stephen Cooper, Ensign.
440.	"	" 21.	Capt. William Squires.
441.	"	Feb. 3.	Capt. John West.
442.	"	Mar. 5.	Margaret Page, Infant
443.	"	May 9.	Capt. Jacob Asselin.
444.	"	" 20.	Edward Clark, Inhabitant.
445.	"	" 26.	Capt. Edward Armstrong.
446.	"	June 25.	Mr. Rains Settleworth, Mariner.
447.	"	" 27.	James Langford, Mariner.
448.	"	July 13.	Mr. James Vesey, Inhabitant
449.	"	" 26.	Martin Scheermond.
450.	"	Aug. 5.	Mr. Abraham Monfort.
451.	"	" 9.	Mr. William Eaton, Senr. Merchant
452.	"	" 28.	Mr. Henry Harvey, Mariner.
453.	"	" 30.	Mrs. Mary Holmes, died at Cossimbazar.
454.	"	Sept. 3.	Mr. Ralph Wooderson, Mariner.
455.	"	" 13.	Nathl Rose, Mariner.
456.	"	" 25.	George Massey, Infant.
457.	"	Oct. 10.	Mr. John Upton, Mariner.
458.	"	" 12.	Mr. Thos. Fletcher, 5th Mate of Ship <i>Duke of Loorain</i>
459.	"	" 17.	Mr. Janath Matthews, 3rd Mate do.
460.	"	" 23.	John Scurrier, Infant.
461.	"	" 28.	Elizth. Hardin, a child.
462.	"	"	Mr. Stafford Morgan of Ship <i>Bedford</i> .
463.	"	Nov. 6.	John Trusty, Sergeant.
464.	"	Dec. 21.	Mr. John Sainsbury Lloyd, Merchant.
465.	1733.	Jan. 21.	Peter Barns, Mariner.
466.	"	Feb. 1.	Mary Nichols, Infant.
467.	"	Mar. 28.	Mr. John Bonkett in Council.
468.	"	May, 15.	Philip Pulwar, Infant.
469.	"	" 30.	Peter Elliot, Infant.
470.	"	July. 15.	John Plank, Infant.
471.	"	" 22.	Robt. Massey, Infant.
472.	"	" 23.	Robt. Forbes.
473.	"	Aug. 3.	Robt. Laws, Mariner.
474.	"	" 10.	Richard Page, Mariner.

475.	1733.	Aug. 15.	John Simpson, 8th Mate of Ship <i>Eyles</i> .
476.	"	" 21.	John Clarke, Pilot.
477.	"	" 21.	Jacob Barnes, Inhabit.
478.	"	" 26.	Burrum Manning, 4th Mate of the <i>Duke of Lorrain</i> .
479.	"	" 29.	Mr. John Loff.
480.	"	Sept. 4.	Capt. Charles Manley.
481.	"	" 5.	Mr. Charles Starke, Doct's Mate of the <i>Duke of Lorrain</i> .
482.	"	" 10.	Robt. King, Mariner.
483.	"	" 11.	Thos King, Inhabit.
484.	"	" 23.	John Smith, Mariner.
485.	"	" 30.	Ann Margass, Infant.
486.	"	Oct. 20.	Frederick Dent, Dr's. Mate of the <i>Bedford</i> .
487.	"	Nov. 3.	Richd. Clarke, Infant.
488.	"	Dec. 10.	Mrs. Sophia Fazakerley.
489.	"	" 26.	Adam Dawson, the Hon'ble Compa's. Boatswain.
490.	1734.	Jan. 3.	Harry Johnson, Mariner.
491.	"	" 19.	Charles Hennings, Pilate (<i>sic</i>)
492.	"	Mar. 1.	Edward Clarke, Mariner.
493.	"	" 27.	Mr. John Collier, Pilate (<i>sic</i>)
494.	"	Apr. 15.	Capt. Thos. Snow.
495.	"	May 11.	Sophia Fazakerley, Infant.
496.	"	June 4.	Sarah Christiana.
497.	"	" 6.	Mr. Thos. Deane, Mariner.
498.	"	" 17.	Mr. Thos. Cahill, Hon'ble Compa. Joyner.
499.	"	" 18.	Elizth. Anderson, Infant.
500.	"	" 22.	Anthony Dipping, Surgeon.
501.	"	" 23.	James Hawkes, Infant.
502.	"	" 27.	James Santioge, Infant.
503.	"	July 15.	John Pulwar, Infant
504.	"	" 25.	Capt. George Pitt of Ship <i>George</i> .
505.	"	" 25.	Mr. James Otley, Inhabit.
506.	"	" 27.	Mr. John Hoggsden.
507.	"	" 28.	Thomas Benbow, Infant.
508.	"	" 29.	Prudence Love, Infant.
509.	"	Aug. 3.	Charles Pattison, Mariner.
510.	"	" 16.	Mr. Richd. Donnel of Ship <i>George</i> .
511.	"	" 27.	Danl. Pernu, Mariner.
512.	"	" 29.	Susannah Allofze, Inhabit.
513.	"	Sept. 9.	Henry Edwards.
514.	"	" 10.	Mr. Corlan Tavernour, Inhabitant.
515.	"	" 12.	Samuel Palmer, Inhabit.
516.	"	" 26.	Anthony Dowson, Inhabit.
517.	"	Oct. 6.	William Barnett, Mariner.
518.	"	" 14.	Lewis Knott, Inhabit.
519.	"	" 15.	Capt. William Ellis.
520.	"	" 17.	Catherine Orme.
521.	"	Nov. 6.	Mr. Robt. Kellet, 2nd Mate of <i>Duke of Dorset</i> .
522.	"	" 16.	Jonas Keene, Inhabit.
523.	"	" 23.	Mr. Matthew Wesley, Inhabit.
524.	"	Dec. 3.	Mrs. Eleanor Orme, Inhabit.

525.	1735.	Dec. 9.	Mrs. Mary West, Inhabit.
526.	"	" 14.	Mrs. Eliz.—Cave Inhabit.
527.	"	" 25.	John Van-Maleu, Infant.
528.	1735.	Jan. 1.	Charles Knott, Mariner.
529.	"	" 3.	Ann Rumbold, Infant.
530.	"	" 5.	Ann Brondooke, Infant.
531.	"	" 13.	Susanna Broadbrooke, Infant.
532.	"	" 20.	Thos. Rumbold, Infant.
533.	"	" 23.	Mr. Israel Wilks, Mariner.
534.	"	" 27.	Mr. John Vesey, Infant.
535.	"	" 30.	Charles Brown, Infant.
536.	"	" 30.	Elizth. Bishop, Infant.
537.	"	Feb. 7.	Joanna Adams, Infant.
538.	"	" 8.	William Gordan.
539.	"	" 24.	Charles Cruttingden, Infant.
540.	"	March 4.	William Love, Infant.
541.	"	" 15.	Mr. John Oldmixon, Senr. Merchant.
542.	"	" 15.	Thomas Vanes, Inhabitant.
543.	"	May 1.	Mr. Edgerton Arme, Inhabitant.
544.	"	" 31.	Elizth. Ellit., Infant.
545.	"	June 25.	Hamden Jordon, Mariner.
546.	"	" 26.	John Sampley.
547.	"	Aug. 16.	Mr. John Elderton, Midshipman of ye <i>Beaufort</i> .
548.	"	" 18.	Wm. Searle, Steward of the <i>Godolphin</i> .
549.	"	" 18.	Capt. John Willis.
550.	"	" 19.	Thos. Fennis, Mariner.
551.	"	" 26.	Mr. John Colverson, Mariner.
552.	"	" 26.	Mr. Thos. Lawson, Purser.
553.	"	Sept. 1.	Mr. William Wood, Purser.
554.	"	" 21.	Mr. John Hume, Chief-Mate of Ships <i>Wager</i> .
555.	"	Oct. 2.	William Collier, Inhabit.
556.	"	" 5.	Edwd. Goodwin, Midshipman of ye <i>Godolphin</i> .
557.	"	" 31.	Catharine Allofze, Inhabitant.
558.	"	Nov. 1.	Isa Julius, Inhabit.
559.	"	Dec. 27.	Michael Craggs, Infant.
560.	1736.	Jan. 1.	Mrs. Elizabeth Harding, Inhabitant.
561.	"	" 3.	John Jesper. Inhabitant.
562.	"	" 16.	Joseph Jellings, Infant
563.	"	" 28.	Mr. John Brown, Chief of the <i>Marlborough</i> .
564.	"	Feb. 4.	Mrs. Martha Orme, Inhabitant.
565.	"	" 22.	George Holmes, Inhabitant.
566.	"	" 23.	William Hamley, Inhabitant.
567.	"	Mar. 19.	David Hendrick, Inhabitant.
568.	"	" 22.	Thomas Hawkes, Infant.
569.	"	April 16.	John Sleight, Inhabitant.
570.	"	May 4.	Mr. Thomas Milford, Inhabitant.
571.	"	" 26.	Thomas Scales, Infant.
572.	"	June 2.	Capt. George Phenuse, Inhabitant.
573.	"	" 13.	Capt. John Parsons.
574.	"	" 30.	John Holmes, Infant.

575.	1736.	July	6.	Capt. Basil Hamilton.
576.	"	"	12.	Mr. Robert Mullins, Inhabitant.
577.	"	Aug.	5.	Mr. Saml. Mitchell, Midshipman of the <i>Compton</i> .
578.	"	"	7.	Elizabeth Banbury, Infant.
579.	"	"	10.	Robert Hart, Inhabitant.
580.	"	"	26.	Capt. Thomas Manley.
581.	"	Sept.	5.	John Camel, Inhabitant.
582.	"	"	16.	Arch. Taylor, Surgeon's Mate of the <i>Defence</i> .
583.	"	"	17.	Mr. Thomas Bevan, Mariner.
584.	"	Oct.	4.	Mr. Roger Mathews of Ship <i>Cpton</i> .
585.	"	"	17.	Anera Maria.
586.	"	"	20.	Edward House, Midshipman of the <i>Haselingfield</i> .
587.	"	Nov.	10.	Mr. Thomas Coales in Council.
588.	"	"	23.	Mr. John Durley, Merchant.
589.	"	"	29.	Mr. Robert Hall, 3rd Mate of the <i>Grantham</i> .
590.	"	Dec.	2.	Henry Waddington.
591.	"	"	2.	Capt. Alexander Baxter.
592.	"	"	8.	William Rosier, Infant.
593.	"	"	10.	Thomas Comer, Mariner.
594.	1737.	Jan.	6.	Isabella Banbury, Infant.
595.	"	"	24.	Edward Clark, Infant.
596.	"	Feb.	17.	Elizabeth Duce, Infant.
597.	"	April	19.	Mr. Alexander Orme, Inhabitant.
598.	"	"	22.	James Granville, Mariner.
599.	"	May	13.	Ann Joakim.
600.	"	"	14.	Ephraim Roberts, Pilot.
601.	"	"	26.	Mr. William Allen, Mariner.
602.	"	"	28.	Samuel Thomas, do.
603.	"	June	14.	Mr. Rowland Vanbeam, Inhabitant.
604.	"	"	20.	Mrs. Mary Roberts.
605.	"	"	24.	Mr. Edward Hill, Mariner.
606.	"	July	8.	Mr. John Lashly, third Mate of the Ship <i>Halifax</i> .
607.	"	"	21.	Richard Eagen, Mariner.
608.	"	"	21.	Henry Light, Infant.
609.	"	"	27.	Mr. Ralph Manley, Midshipman of the <i>Hallifax</i> .
610.	"	Aug.	13.	Ann Hill, Infant.
611.	"	"	6.	Barnar Barnson, Infant.
612.	"	"	10.	Capt. John Coomes.
613.	"	"	12.	Martha Gumley, Infant.
614.	"	"	13.	Capt. John Holmes.
615.	"	"	13.	Mr. Robert Beadle, Mariner.
616.	"	"	19.	Mrs. Martha Holmes.
617.	"	Sept.	3.	Mr. Edward Frost, Mercht.
618.	"	"	5.	George Earthly, Mariner.
619.	"	"	12.	Mr. Abraham Mills, Pilot.
620.	"	"	17.	Mrs. Ann Turpin, Inhabitant.
620A.	"	"	18.	Mr. Charles Whenham of Ship <i>Lisle</i> .
621.	"	"	18.	Mr. Richard Hipper [Kipper?] 5th Mate of Ship <i>Hallifax</i> .
622.	"	"	20.	John Moray, Mariner.
623.	"	Oct.	4.	Mr. William Cotham of Ship <i>Deckor</i> .

624.	1737.	Oct. 14.	Mr. Richd. Bing, Inhabitant.
625.	"	" 15.	Thomas Russell, Mariner.
626.	"	" 16.	Mr. John Bishop, Mariner.
627.	"	" 21.	Mr. John Searle, Inhabitant.
628.	"	" 23.	William Read, Infant.
629.	"	" 28.	Mr. John Mansell, Mariner.
630.	"	" 29.	Mr. Richd Fisher, Midshipman of Ship <i>P. Louisa</i> .
631.	"	Nov. 15.	Thomas Lampblue, Inhabitant.
632.	"	" 18.	Mr. Griffith Williams, Mariner.
633.	"	Dec. 1.	Mr. Jeremiah Kendall, 2nd Mate of the <i>Hallifax</i> .
634.	"	" 4.	Daniel Vass, Inhabitant.
635.	"	" 9.	Capt. John Aston of Ship <i>Hallifax</i> .
636.	"	" 12.	Robt. Horkeitt, 4th Mate of the <i>Devonshire</i> .
637.	"	" 13.	Ralph Garnet, Inhabitant.
638.	"	" 25.	Capt. Edward Williamson of Ship <i>Decker</i> ,
639.	1738	Jan. 1.	William Thompson.
640.	"	" 3.	Ann Barwell, Infant.
641.	"	" 3.	William Hunt, Infant.
642.	"	" 4.	Henry Spikeman, Mercht.
643.	"	" 18.	Holt Emanner Sature, Infant.
644.	"	" 29.	Joseph Hill, Marine.
645.	"	Feb. 24.	Robert Tompson 2nd Mate of the <i>Devonshire</i> .
646.	"	" 25.	John Ostrick, Mariner.
647.	"	Mar. 15.	Mr. George Horsenail, Mariner.
648.	"	" 20.	Mr. William Kedridge, Mariner.
649.	"	Apl. 16.	Nicholas Kimiss, Midshipman of Ship <i>Lycia</i> .
650.	"	" 29.	Gorn Arab, Inhabitant.
651.	"	May 6.	Altia Cornelius, Infant.
652.	"	" 16.	Ann Sehon, Inhabitant.
653.	"	" 25.	Thomas Rooksey, 5th Mate of ye <i>Princes Mary</i> .
654.	"	June 17.	Mr. John Hammond, Mariner.
655.	"	" 19.	Jonathan King, Doctor of Ship <i>Princess Mary</i> .
656.	"	" 25.	Mr. Joseph Townsend, Inhabitant.
657.	"	July 2.	Mr. Samuel Howlet, Mariner.
658.	"	" 7.	Mr. John Penning, Junr. Mercht.
659.	"	" 8.	Thomas Hunter, Infant.
660.	"	" 13.	Mr. John Jewers, Inhabitant.
661.	"	" 20.	Hauns Jordan, Mariner.
662.	"	" 28.	John Harrison, Mariner.
663.	"	" 29.	Thomas Sipping, Inhabitant.
664.	"	Aug. 3.	Antony Bodily, Mariner.
665.	"	" 6.	William Easton, 2nd Mate of Ship <i>P. Mary</i>
666.	"	" 17.	Capt. Samuel Cole.
667.	"	" 18.	Uralia Parker, Infant.
668.	"	" 19.	Capt. Thomas Bennett.
669.	"	" 24.	John Hall, Mariner.
670.	"	" 29.	Albert Emerly, Inhabitant.
671.	"	Sept. 2.	William Cockshaw, Mariner.
672.	"	" 10.	William Orme, Mariner.
673.	"	" 13.	William Jackson, Mariner.

674.	1738.	Sept. 18.	Sophia Tomlinson, Inhabitant.
675.	"	" 22.	Mr. George Lambton.
676.	"	" 27.	William Fendall, Mariner.
677.	"	Oct. 4.	Robert Eyre, Merchant.
678.	"	" 11.	Mr. William Flacknal, Mariner.
679.	"	" 23.	John Taylor, Mariner.
680.	"	" 28.	Benjamin Purnell, Mariner.
681.	"	" 30.	William Bruce, Mariner.
682.	"	Nov. 6.	Capt. Thomas Atkinson.
683.	"	" 7.	Andrew Anderson, Mariner.
684.	"	" 18.	Josper Cummins, Midshipman of the <i>Wager</i> .
685.	"	Dec. 1.	John Kirk, Infant.
686.	"	" 8.	Capt. John Edge.
687.	1739.	Jan. 15.	Capt. Benjamin Bumstead.
688.	"	Feb. 11.	Mrs. Sarah Bourchier.
689.	"	" 26.	Mary Turpin, Infant.
690.	"	Mar. 12.	Capt. Robert Dennis.
691.	"	" 19.	Geo. Singclair, Mariner.
692.	"	May 9.	Michael Henshaw, Inhabit.
693.	"	" 13.	Elizabeth Long, Inhabitant.
694.	"	June 8.	Capt. Jno. Cudmore.
695.	"	" 9.	John Cox, Infant.
696.	"	July 15.	Mary Cragg, Infant.
697.	"	" 28.	Capt. John Powney
698.	"	Aug. 15.	Robet. Fossitt.
699.	"	Sept. 7.	Mrs. Mary Mary Steward, Inhabit
700.	"	" 12.	Capt. Michael Grey.
701.	"	" 23.	Harman Cornelius, Mariner.
702.	"	" 24.	Richard Cragg, Mariner.
703.	"	" 24.	Thomas Dedlcez, Mariner of Ship <i>Grantham</i> .
704.	"	Oct. 2.	Capt. John Jones.
705.	"	" 6.	Capt. William Hurst.
706.	"	" 6.	Mr. George Robert Dickenson, Mercht
707.	"	" 12.	Susannah Dent.
707A.	"	" 20.	Mr. Tho. Cave, Steward, Ship <i>Somerset</i> .
707B.	"	" 22.	Mr. Abienzr Downs, Purser, Do.
708.	"	" 31.	James West, Mariner.
709.	"	" 31.	Samuel Mackcubin, Inhabitant
710.	"	Nov. 13.	Mr. Christopher Eyre, Mariner
711.	"	Dec. 19.	Francis Reynolds, Inhabitant.
712.	1740.	Jan. 26.	Hellen Buyers, Infant.
713.	"	Feb. 2.	Thomas Southen, Mariner.
714.	"	Mar. 3.	Thomas Leech, Mariner.
715.	"	" 15.	Isaac Nicols, Infant.
716.	"	" 18.	Mrs. Sarah Sutcliff, Inhabitant.
717.	"	" 26.	Mr. John Austin, Inhabitant.
718.	"	" 30.	Thomas Hunter, Infant.
719.	"	Apl. 8.	Sarah Brear, Infant.
720.	"	" 18.	Richard Mann, Infant.
721.	"	" 19.	Richard Brear, Infant.

722.	1740.	Apl. 26.	Hannah Cragg, Infant.
723.	"	May 6.	Samuel Toms.
724.	"	" 10.	Eleanor Elliott, Infant.
725.	"	" 14.	Abrahan Wantrooswyck, Infant.
726.	"	" 29.	Thomas Long, Mariner.
727.	"	July 20.	Francis Brook, Inhabit., Taylor.
728.	"	" 24.	Daniel Harrison, Inhabitant.
729.	"	" 28.	John Duson, Inhabitant.
730.	"	" 30.	Capt. Walter Hoxton.
731.	"	Aug. 9.	Edward Ellis, Midshipman of Ship <i>Princess Wales</i> .
732.	"	" 10.	Capt. Edward Love, Inhabit.
733.	"	" 12.	John Dyer, Mariner.
734.	"	" 13.	Mrs. Frances Bruce, Inhabit.
735.	"	" 19.	Mr. John Norfolk, Mercht.
736.	"	" 19.	Mr. John Clements, Mariner.
737.	"	Sept. 20.	Mr. Thomas Middleton, 4th Mate of Ship <i>Prince of Wales</i> .
738.	"	" 24.	Mr. William Cole, 4th Mate of Ship <i>Princess Louisa</i> .
739.	"	" 25.	Mrs. Frances Mackaffrey.
739A.	"	Oct. 16.	Mr. Phillip Hambly, Purcer of Ship <i>Prince William</i> .
740.	"	Oct. 28.	Mrs. Margaret Veasey, Inhabitant.
741.	"	Nov. 17.	Mr. Ralph Johnson, Senr. Mercht.
742.	"	" 17.	Mrs. Ann Moore, Inhabit.
743.	"	Dec. 16.	Mrs. Elizth. Hunter, Inhabit.
744.	"	" 29.	Mr. Hannah Rorchester Fenton.
745.	1741.	Mar. 31.	John Daniel, Infant.
746.	"	July. 30.	Charles Jenkins, Inhabitant.
747.	"	Aug. 6.	Mrs. Francis Wynn, Inhabitant.
748.	"	" 10.	John Ewin, Infant.
749.	"	" 10.	Jack Hageman, Inhabitant.
750.	"	" 19.	Mr. Sarah Cross, Inhabitant.
751.	"	" 21.	Hugh Barnsfeather, Doctors' Mate, Ship <i>Hallifax</i> .
752.	"	" 29.	John Hill, Doctor's Mate, Ship <i>London</i> .
753.	"	Sept. 6.	Thomas Pallison, School-masjer.
754.	"	" 12.	Mrs. Louisa Maria Teresia Meredih, Inhabit.
755.	"	" 15.	Mrs. Elizabeth Guion, Inhabit.
756.	"	" 20.	Mrs. Jane Satoor, Inhabit.
757.	"	" 28.	John Stackhouse Esq.
758.	"	Oct. 3.	Thos Davis, Inhabit.
759.	"	" 6.	Benjamin Benn, Doctor's Mate, Ship <i>London</i> .
760.	"	" 7.	Capt. Robert Castle.
761.	"	" 20.	Capt. John Sowrbuts.
762.	"	" 27.	Andrew William Lawman, Major.
763.	"	" 27.	Thomas Hunt, Purcer (<i>sic</i>) Ship <i>London</i> .
764.	"	" 28.	Richard Patterson, Adgident (<i>sic.</i>)
765.	"	" 29.	Mrs. Sophia Rainbrow, Inhabit.
766.	"	Nov. 10.	Robert Castle, Carpenter, Inhabit.
767.	"	" 11.	Mary Dent, Inhabit.
768.	1742.	Jan. 3.	Mr. Wm. Bruce, Senr. Mercht.
769.	"	Feb. 4.	Mathias Rasmus, Infant.
770.	"	Mar. 3.	Capt. Cland Lawrence Aliot.

771.	1742.	May 3.	Mr. Charles Bresgy, Junr. Mercht.
772.	"	July 7.	Hen. Troostwycke, Infant.
773.	"	" 18.	Capt. Robt. Northley.
774.	"	" 29.	Mr. Thos. Meyrick, Comp's Cooper.
775.	"	Aug. 1.	Mr. Jas. Rogers, Pilot.
776.	"	" 1.	Capt. Andrew Sheppard.
777.	"	" 3.	Phillips Tully, Midshipman, Ships <i>Houghton</i> .
778.	"	" 27.	Mr. Tho. Bennet, Midshipman, Ship <i>Tygress</i> .
779.	"	" 31.	Sam. Riddle, Midshipman, Ship <i>Houghton</i> .
780.	"	" 31.	Doctor John Hunter, Inhabitant.
781.	"	Sept. 14.	Sam. Lane, Inhabitant.
782.	"	Oct. 1.	Hannah Fenton, Infant.
783.	"	" 6.	Wm. Hunter, Doctor's Mate, Ship <i>Houghton</i> .
784.	"	" 14.	Mr. Wm. Hillman, Pilot.
785.	"	" 23.	Robt. Mann, Infant.
786.	"	" 26.	Jno. Bignall, Inhabitant.
787.	"	Nov. 2.	Dr. Alexander Napier.
788.	"	" 13.	Susannah Stone, Infant.
789.	"	Dec. 3.	Mr. Wm. Miller, Pilot.
790.	"	" 19.	Mr. Richard Waring, Merchant.
791.	"	" 30.	Tho. Mann, Infant.
792.	1743.	Jan. 10.	Mr. Win. Mitchell, Sent. Mercht.
793.	"	Feb. 14.	Mrs. Eliz. Coatsworth, Inhabitant.
794.	"	" 17.	Andrew Voss, Infant.
795.	"	" 20.	Mr. Moses Stepn. Hollard, Ensign.
796.	"	" 27.	Sir Francis Russell, Bart.
797.	"	Mar. 3.	Mr. Henry Campion, Co. Servant.
798.	"	" 30.	Wm. Mann, Infant.
799.	"	Apl. 1.	Mrs. Cath. Male, Inhabitant.
800.	"	June 11.	Willm. Trooswyk, Infant.
801.	"	July 8.	Tho. Cook, Infant.
802.	"	" 27.	Mr. Charles Stanesby, Inhabitant.
803.	"	Aug. 13.	John Young, Infant.
804.	"	Sept. 14.	Mr. Henry Rumbold, Secretary.
805.	"	" 28.	Willm. De Voice, Inhabitant.
806.	"	Oct. 13.	Mr. Walter Currie, Doctor, Ship <i>St. George</i> .
807.	"	" 13.	Capt. Charles Ward, Inhabitant.
808.	"	" 16.	Tho. Robinson, Doctor's Mate, Ship <i>Princess Amelia</i> .
809.	"	" 21.	Mr. Duncan Maine, Co. Servant.
810.	"	" 30.	Capt. Geo. Hutton.
811.	"	Nov. 5.	Capt. Alexr. Adair, Commander, Ship <i>Winchelsea</i> .
812.	"	" 10.	Mary Sawger.
813.	"	Dec. 2.	Mrs. Mary Coales, Inhabt.
814.	"	" 5.	Mrs. Ann Gee, Inhabt.
815.	"	" 7.	Capt. Willm. Harper.
816.	1744.	Jan. 18.	Jennut Aikman, Infant.
817.	"	" 25.	Mr. Abraham Otger, Senr. Merchant.
818.	"	Feb. 14.	Capt. John Fenton.
819.	"	Mar. 12.	Anna Maria Holmes, Infant.
820.	"	" 17.	Ensign William Lindsey.

821.	1744.	Mar. 23.	Mrs. Sarah Orme, Inhabitant
822.	"	25.	Mr. Rebecca Hill, Inhabitant.
823.	"	Apl. 6.	Elizabeth Jacobs, Infant.
824.	"	" 9.	Samuel Trosstwyk, Infant.
825.	"	" 16.	Elizabeth Jarr, Inhabitant.
826.	"	" 17.	Sophia Rasmus, Infant.
827.	"	" 27.	Mrs. James West, Inhabitant.
828.	"	May 18.	Captn. John Hodder.
829.	"	June 3.	Mr. George Clarke, Writer.
830.	"	" 10.	Mr. Edmund Massey, Merchant.
831.	"	" 14.	Mr. Robert Crawley, Merchant.
832.	"	" 17.	Capt. Reeve, Jobbins.
833.	"	July 22.	Mr. John Cassells, Company's Servant.
834.	"	" 27.	Capt. Gabriel Steward, of ye. Ship <i>Winchester</i> .
835.	"	" 28.	William Cottle, Surgeon, Ship <i>Lopwing</i> .
836.	"	" 29.	Mrs. Mary Twiss, Inhabitant.
837.	"	Aug. 1.	Captn. Isaac Mitchel.
838.	"	" 11.	Thomas Inglis, Doctor, Ship <i>Montague</i> .
839.	"	" 14.	Michael Jackson, Midshipman, Ship <i>Prince William</i>
840.	"	" 16.	Mr. Edward Fisher, Compa. Servant.
841.	"	" 17.	Alexr. Craington, Midshipman, Ship <i>Winchelsea</i> .
842.	"	" 20.	George Gresham, Doctor's Mate, <i>Winchelsea</i> .
843.	"	Sept. 10.	Mathew Dobson, Midshipman, Ship <i>St. George</i> .
844.	"	" 10.	Archibald Corkburn, Midshipman, Ship <i>Winchester</i> .
845.	"	" 15.	Captn. John Cross.
846.	"	" 17.	Mrs. Ann Parsons, Inhabitant.
847.	"	" 21.	Mrs. Mary Smith, Inhabitant.
848.	"	Oct. 12.	Rebecca Ann Rombold, Infant
849.	"	" 27.	Mr. Zecha Gee, Junr.
850.	"	Nov. 1.	Mr. William Shackleton, Ensign.
851.	"	" 12.	Mr. James Cook, Inhabit.
852.	"	Dec. 19.	Francis Vanes, Inhabt.
853.	1745.	Feb. 9.	John Liftrap, Inhabitant.
853A.	"	" 17.	Mr. Charles Lockyer, Factor.
854.	"	Mar. 9.	John Knox, Infant.
855.	"	" 25.	Mrs. Penelope Edge, Inhabitant.
856.	"	Apl. 14.	John Ellis, Clark.
857.	"	May 20.	Capt. John Ewins.
858.	"	June 11.	George Carmichael, Inhabitant.
859.	"	" 25.	Mr. Joseph Coles, Inhabitant.
860.	"	" 29.	Thoma: Knipe, Lieut.
861.	"	July 4.	Mr. Daniel Armstrong, Compay. Servant.
862.	"	" 11.	Mr. Thomas Webster of the Ship <i>Wager</i> .
863.	"	" 14.	Mr. Thomas Mann, Compa. Servant.
864.	"	" 15.	Mr. Daniel Berryman, Inhabitant.
865.	"	" 19.	Mr. John Alofze, Inhabitant.
866.	"	" 19.	William Darley of the Ship <i>Edgbaston</i> .
867.	"	" 20.	Mr. John Phillips of the Ship <i>Wager</i> .
868.	"	" 22.	John Halsey, Esq. in Council.
869.	"	" 25.	Mr. William Durrant, Compa. Servant.

870.	1745.	July 27.	Capt. Andrew Harper.
871.	"	28.	Samuel Mackenly in the Sloops Service.
872.	"	30.	Mr. Richard Bourchier, Purser.
873.	"	Aug. 2.	Mr. James Deslisle, Inhabitant.
874.	"	3.	Capt. Andrew Glann.
875.	"	9.	William Gilmore, Inhabitant.
876.	"	12.	Samuel Groshier, Infant.
877.	"	14.	William Peiarce, Purser.
878.	"	25.	Mr. Thomas Parker of the Ship <i>Edglaston</i> .
879.	"	31.	Captn. Henry Watts, Mastrs in Attendence.
880.	"	31.	Sarah Gunby, Infant.
881.	"	Sept. 5.	Mr. Jonathan Smart, Inhabitant.
882.	"	10.	Captn. Stephen Cobham.
883.	"	13.	Mr. Francis Vanes, Inhabitant.
884.	"	29.	Thomas Joshua Moore Esq. in Council.
885.	"	Oct. 15.	Mrs. Mary. Cahill, Inhabitant.
886.	"	27.	Barbara Lutton, Infant.
887.	"	Nov. 10.	Mr. George Whitwell of the Ship <i>Edgbaston</i> .
888.	"	23.	Lewis Sherley of his Majt's Ship <i>Medway</i> 's prize.
889.	"	25.	Mary Groshier, Infant.
890.	"	27.	Mrs. Mary Twiss, Inhabitant.
891.	"	28.	Captn. William Tolley.
892.	"	Dec. 18.	Crooke Thomas, Lieut.
893.	1746.	Jan. 18.	James Shippey of His Majt's. <i>Medway</i> 's prize.
894.	"	28.	Edward. Pomfret Esqr. in Council.
895.	"	Feb 2.	Cornelia Resendeah Meyer, Inhabitant.
896.	"	2.	James Glan, Inhabitant.
897.	"	Mar. 25.	Elizth. Wooley, Infant.
898.	"	28.	Captain John Lloyd.
899.	"	July 25.	James Steinson, Pilot.
900.	"	27.	Ann Cary, Inhabitant.
901.	"	29.	Mary Lutton, Infant.
902.	"	Aug. 2.	Captn. Jno. Wyldboore, Inhabitant.
903.	"	5.	David Sealy, Infant.
904.	"	21.	Willm. Shillingford, Mariner.
905.	"	24.	William Tully, Midshipman of Ship <i>Kent</i> .
906.	"	26.	Francis Hogan, 3rd Mate of Ship <i>Kent</i> .
907.	"	Sept. 6.	Robt. Bennet, Inhabitant.
908.	"	8.	Doctor Thomas Paul, Inhabitant.
909.	"	11.	Mr. Jno. Reunald, Merchant.
910.	"	12.	Jno. Martin, Mariner.
911.	"	14.	Capt. Richd. Peirce, Inhabitant.
912.	"	27.	Mrs. Catherine Leonard.
913.	"	28.	Willm. Holland, Mariner.
914.	"	29.	Mrs. Mary Ward.
915.	"	Oct. 1.	Jno. Bracket, Mariner.
916.	"	3.	Jno. Cave. Inhabitant.
917.	"	19.	Leach Wildbere, Inhabitant.
918.	"	19.	Edward Shirley, Purser of his Majsty's Ship <i>Medway</i> .
919.	"	27.	Jno. Ramsoman, School-master of Ship <i>Preston</i> .

920.	1746.	Oct. 28.	Josh. Horn, Inhabitant.		
921.	"	" 30.	William Hutton, Mariner.		
922.	"	" 31.	Capt. James Parker, Inhabitant.		
923.	"	" 19.	Phillip Lucas, Mariner.		
924.	"	Nov. 1.	David Johnson, Midshipman of his Maj's Ship <i>Harwich</i> .		
925.	"	" 10.	Elizth. Norton, Infant.		
926.	"	" 22.	Faben Stone, Mariner.		
927.	"	Dec. 1.	James Scott, Mate of Ship <i>Medway's Prize</i> .		
928.	"	" 6.	Bastain Hick, Infant.		
929.	"	" 18.	Jno. Strange, Sloop's Master.		
930.	1747.	Jan. 9.	James Preston, Mate of the <i>Preston</i> ...	... Consumption.	
931.	"	Mar. 21.	David Welsh, Inhabitant ...	... Fever.	
932.	"	May 11.	John Beaumont, Pitot.		
933.	"	" 24.	Mr. Richd. Colchester, Inhabitant ...	... Fever.	
934.	"	June. 4.	William Erit, Midshipman of the <i>Houghton Flux</i> .		
935.	"	" 8.	Mrs. Cath. Reed, Inhabitant ...	... Fever.	
936.	"	" 13.	Mr. Willm. Jermin, do. ...	... do.	
937.	"	" 15.	Elenezeer Wilks, Dr's Mate of the <i>Princess of Wales</i> Flux.		
938.	"	" 28.	Edward Hawkes, Midshipman of do. ...	... do.	
939.	"	July 12.	Capt. Willm. Weggerman ...	... Fever.	
940.	"	" 12.	John Ferrier, Master of one of the Sloops ...	Flux.	
941.	"	" 17.	Mr. Willm. Watts, Chief Mate of the <i>Princess of Wales</i>. ...	... Fever.	
942.	"	" 17.	Mr. Jno. Parker, 3rd Mate of the <i>Exeter</i> ...	do.	
943.	"	" 19.	Mrs. Reb. Malo, Inhabitant. ...	... do.	
944.	"	" 21.	Capt. Thos Lewis, Inhabitant ...	... do.	
945.	"	" 21.	Mr. Jos. Mansel, Company's Servant at Fort St. George ...	... Flux.	
946.	"	" 23.	Henry Cartwright, Midshipman of <i>Exeter</i> ...	do.	
947.	"	" 28.	Capt. Thos. Samson ...	... do.	
948.	"	Aug. 1.	Ben Kudson, Inhabitant ...	... do.	
949.	"	" 11.	Ann Gunby, Inhabitant ...	... Fever.	
950.	"	" 17.	Henry Blenney, Inhabitant ...	... do.	
951.	"	" 19.	Alexander Wood, Inhabitant ...	... do.	
952.	"	" 21.	Joseph Cummins, Inhabitant ...	... do.	
953.	"	" 25.	Mr. Saml Parkes, Sub. Accountant ...	... Consumption.	
954.	"	Sept. 3.	Charlotte Drake, Infant ...	... Convulsions.	
955.	"	" 5.	William Fish ...	... Fever.	
956.	"	" 8.	Mr. Jonath. Smart, Inhabitant ...	... do.	
957.	"	" 9.	Willm. Dawson, Midshipman of the <i>Houghton</i> ...	Flux.	
958.	"	" 16.	Henry Cave, Inhabitant ...	... Fever.	
959.	"	" 17.	Mary Holmes, Infant. ...	... do.	
960.	"	" 22.	Mrs. Barbar Lutton ...	... do.	
961.	"	" 22.	Captn. Edward Fred. Reed, Gunner of Fort William	do.	
962.	"	" 29.	Martha Gumby, Infant ...	... do.	
963.	"	" 29.	Charles Savage, Inhabitant. ...	... do.	
964.	"	Oct. 11.	Mr. Geo. Hooper, Company's Servant ...	... do.	
965.	"	" 30.	Captn. Geo. Bright ...	... Suddenly.	
966.	"	Nov. 20.	John Pike, Inhabitant ...	... Flux.	
967.	"	Dec. 23.	Mrs. Mary Briggs, Inhabitant ...	... Small Pox.	

							Consumption.
968.	1747.	Dec.	31.	Mr. Charles Beard	...	...
969.	1748.	Jan.	1.	Baker Townsend, Midshipman of Ship <i>Oxford</i> .			
970.	"	"	2.	Mary Dutton, Infant.			
971.	"	"	5.	Diteluff Picore, Surgeon.			
972.	"	"	5.	Bartholomew Clarke, Mercht.			
973.	"	"	14.	Mary Drake, Infant.			
974.	"	"	24.	Elizabeth Martha Palmer, Infant.			
975.	"	"	25.	Mr. Perry Purple Templer, Mercht.			
976.	"	"	25.	Mr. Samuel Afflick, of Fort St. George.			
977.	"	"	26.	William Fenwick, Infant.			
978.	"	Feb.	17.	George Blany, Infant.			
979.	"	"	20.	Samuel Sheldrake, Esq., of Council.			
980.	"	Mar.	3.	Thomas Templer, Infant.			
981.	"	"	5.	Frances Dougal, Infant.			
982.	"	"	10.	Frances Sterling, Infant.			
983.	"	"	12.	Mrs. Mary Stratton.			
984.	"	"	25.	Rachael Beach Infant.			
985.	"	"	27.	John Forster Esq., late President.			
986.	"	Apl.	3.	Mr. William Orme of Fort St. George.			
987.	"	"	15.	Capt. Robert Leonard, Inhabitant.			
988.	"	"	19.	John Beirwell, Mariner.			
989.	"	May	7.	Thomas Johnson, Surgeon of the <i>Colchester</i> [Sic.]			
990.	"	"	16.	Mr. Henry Rawson, Inhabitant.			
991.	"	"	17.	Joseph Hook, Surgeon.			
992.	"	"	22.	Miss Mary Wren.			
993.	"	June	17.	Mr. John Couty, Surgeon.			
994.	"	July	2.	John Lawhorn, Midchiefman of the <i>Estcourt</i> .			
995.	"	"	22.	Mrs. Catherine Counseld, Inhabitant.			
996.	"	"	25.	Richard Dutton, Infant.			
997.	"	"	25.	Mr. Lewis Simgat, Surgeon.			
998.	"	Aug.	8.	John Schrades, Infant.			
999.	"	"	9.	Joseph Morris, 4th Mate of the <i>True Britton</i> .			
1000.	"	"	22.	Mrs. Martha Eyles, Inhabitant.			
1001.	"	"	29.	Mrs. Thomas Jarrett, Sixth Mate of the <i>Prince William</i> .			
1002.	"	Sept.	6.	Mrs. Grace Cook of Fort St. David.			
1003.	"	"	10.	Mr. Christopher Craddock, Inhabitant.			
1004.	"	"	29.	The Rev. Mr. Robert, Wynch.			
1005.	"	Oct.	2.	Mr. Wm. Chapman, Inhabitant.			
1006.	"	"	23.	Barent Keess, Mariner, Inhabitant.			
1007.	"	"	25.	Albert Hicks, Pilot.			
1008.	"	Nov.	4.	Mr. Fenwick Golightly of Fort St. George.			
1009.	"	"	6.	John Scetis, Infant.			
1010.	"	"	12.	Mr. James Altham, Merchant.			
1011.	"	Dec.	1.	Adam Gillespie, Master of the <i>Medway's prize</i> .			
1012.	"	"	5.	James Nolley, Inhabitant.			
1013.	"	"	29.	Jacob Stephens, 3rd Mate of the <i>Exeter</i> .			
1014.	1749.	Jan.	31.	James Hyland, Mariner.			
1015.	"	Feb.	1.	Joseph, a Slave Boy belonging to Mr. Court.			
1016.	"	"	17.	Emanuel, do do.			
1017.	"	Mar.	16.	Charles Dennet, a Company's Servant.			

1018.	1749.	Mar.	20.	James Hubbard, an Inhabitant.
1019.	"	"	26.	George Williamson, Merchant.
1020.	"	Apl.	15.	Richard Carrol, Inhabitant.
1021.	"	"	17.	William Jefferies, a Mate.
1022.	"	"	28.	Nathaniel Coleman, Inhabitant.
1023.	"	May	1.	James Mosman, Esquire.
1024.	"	"	5.	William Young, Inhabitant.
1025.	"	"	6.	Frances Holland, daughter of Captain Holland.
1026.	"	"	16.	John Whiting Esqr.
1027.	"	"	19.	John Reed, a Volunteer.
1028.	"	"	25.	Robert Hamilton Esquire.
1029.	"	"	25.	William Preston, Mariner.
1030.	"	"	26.	Mary Mack Mahone, daughter of Jere. Mack Mahone.
1031.	"	"	26.	Mrs. Sarah Corsely Cook, Inhabitant
1032.	"	June	4.	Martin Bennet, Esquire.
1033.	"	"	5.	Thomas Hill, Mariner
1034.	"	"	28.	Robert Turner, Inhabitant.
1035.	"	July	4.	Mrs. Anne Williamson, Inhabitant
1036.	"	"	4.	Mrs. Philadelphia Parsons.
1037.	"	"	27.	William Linsey, Doctor and Inhabitant.
1038.	"	Aug.	7.	James Robinson, Inhabitant.
1039.	"	"	20.	Thomas Piddington, an Infant, Son of Thomas Piddington, Inhabitant.
1040.	"	"	21.	William Garbet, Sub-Goaler.
1041.	"	Sept.	5.	Mr. Charles Bedford, Sub-Register and Inhabitant.
1042.	"	"	8.	Thomas Burbidge, Third-Mate of the <i>Walpole</i> .
1043.	"	"	13.	John Miller, Mate in the Sloop's Service.
1044.	"	"	16.	William Graney, Midshipman of the <i>Walpole</i> .
1045.	"	"	21.	Captain Alexander Talyour, Inhabitant.
1046.	"	Oct.	1.	John Askin, an Inhabitant.
1047.	"	"	6.	Mrs. Mary Drake, Wife of Roger Drake, Esquire
1048.	"	"	6.	William Sommers, Midshipman of the <i>Tavistock</i> .
1049.	"	"	19.	John Brown, Son of John Brown, an Infant.
1050.	"	Nov.	7.	Richard Nichols, Inhabitant.
1051.	"	"	9.	William Watlington, Midshipman on of the <i>Prince William</i>
1052.	"	"	30.	David Watts, an Inhabitant.
1053.	"	Dec.	25.	Mr. Robert Key, Ensign in the Honourable Company's Artillery.
1054.	"	"	28.	John Chivers, Sixth Mate of the <i>Tavistock</i> .
1055.	"	"	29.	William Cogan, Mariner.
1056.	"	"	29.	James Denny, Ship Wright.
1057.	1750.	Jan.	30.	Thomas Gregory, Under Goaler.
1058.	"	Feb.	9.	William Green, Surgeon's Mate of the <i>Tavistock</i>
1059.	"	"	11.	Peter Anderson, Inhabitant.
1060.	"	Mar.	2.	Thomas Douglas, Mariner of his Majesty's Ship <i>Swallow</i> .
1061.	"	"	6.	Mary Sinsneck, Inhabitant.
1062.	"	Apl.	12.	Thomas Sewell, Lieutenant of the Honourble Company's Artillery.
1063.	"	"	26.	Edward Creed, Ensign in Captain Minchin's Company.
1064.	"	"	29.	William Mathews, do Fenwick's.
1065.	"	May	1.	John Goddard, Infant.

1066.	1750.	May 2	Penelope Meredith, Inhabitant.
1067.	"	" 13	Mr Stephen Parrant, School-Master.
1067A.	"	" "	Mr. James Innes, Steward of the Ship <i>Lapuring</i> .
1068.	"	June 20.	Mr. Thomas Crawford, Inhabitant.
1069.	"	" 21.	Nicholas Carty, Infant.
1070.	"	" 30.	Thomas Walker, Pentioner.
1071.	"	July 10.	Ninian Elliot, Inhabitant.
1072.	"	" 14.	Captain Richard Hudson, Mariner.
1073.	"	" 14.	Captain William West, Mariner.
1074.	"	Aug. 20	Mr. Nathaniel Jacobs, a Writer in the Hon'ble Company's Service
1075.	"	" 26	Mr. Alexander Burrill, do. do. do
1076.	"	" 26.	Mrs. Clara Norton, Inhabitant.
1077.	"	Sept. 9.	Mr. Samuel Court, Merchant.
1078.	"	" 15.	Mr. Zachariah Gee, Merchant.
1079.	"	" 24.	John Love, Inhabitant.
1080.	"	Oct. 1.	Peter Heddleborough.
1081.	"	" 3.	John Norton, Inhabitant.
1082.	"	" 19.	Mrs. Mary Sanderson, Inhabitant.
1083.	"	" 22.	Mr. George Lethiullier, Third Mate of the Ship <i>London</i> , drownded.
1084.	"	" 25.	Joseph Gunby, Inhabitant.
1085.	"	Nov. 10.	Mr. James Twiss, Inhabitant.
1086.	"	" 11.	Captain George Goring, Inhabitant.
1087.	"	" 21.	Margaret Campbell, Infant.
1088.	1751.	Jan. 12.	Christopher Gunby, Mariner.
1089.	"	" 14.	Mary Morgan, Infant.
1090.	"	" 27.	Alexander Campbell, Inhabitant.
1091.	"	Feb. 15.	Mr. Christopher Irwin Surgeon and Inhabitant
1092.	"	Mar. 26.	Mrs. Mary Meredith, Inhabitant.
1093.	"	Apl. 6.	William Finlayson, Taylor, Inhabitant.
1094.	"	May 9.	Ensign Hamlet Leigh in Capt. Fenwick's Company.
1095.	"	" 27.	Mary Shaw, Infant.
1096.	"	" 31.	John Drew, Mariner.
1097.	"	June 3.	Neal Dorrington, Inhabitant.
1098.	"	" 7.	Mr. Francis Woolaston, Comp. Servant.
1099.	"	" 23.	Cardigan Richard Dutton, Commander of a Country Ship.
1100.	"	July 14.	Joseph Pargeter, Inhabitant.
1101.	"	" 28.	James Kenniday, Mariner.
1102.	"	Ang. 9.	John Pen, Inhabitant.
1103.	"	" 10.	Capt. Philip de Auvergne of Ship <i>Scarborough</i> .
1104.	"	" 10.	Mr. Charles Beauvoir, Company's Servant.
1105.	"	" 11.	Elizabeth Hudson, Inhabitant.
1106.	"	" 13.	Mr. John Sisson, Company's Servant.
1107.	"	" 23.	John Powers, Infant.
1108.	"	" 25.	Major John Holland.
1109.	"	Sept. 10.	James Gray, Midshipman of the <i>Scarborough</i> .
1110.	"	" 11.	Mr. Thomas Bury, Company's Servant
1111.	"	" 13.	Robert Robertson, Pilot.
1112.	"	" 13.	Mathew Lamsdon, Mariner.
1113.	"	" 21.	Captain William Pearson.

1114.	1751.	Sept. 23.	Captain William Millaken.
1115.	"	" 24.	Milo Armstrong, Midshipman of the <i>Scarborough</i> .
1116.	"	Oct. 8.	Mr. James Ross, Inhabitant.
1117.	"	" 10.	Patrick Cromy, Pilot.
1118.	"	" 12.	John Owen, Inhabitant.
1119.	"	" 13.	James Wedderburn, Son of Capt. Wedderburn.
1120.	"	" 16.	Lieutenant John Dutton of the Military.
1121.	"	" 29.	Mr. William Hume, Company's Servant.
1122.	"	Nov. 16.	Mr. George Pattle, Company's Servant.
1123.	"	" 20.	Elizabeth White, Inhabitant.
1124.	"	" 24.	Adam Whitford, Purser of the <i>Duke of Dorset</i> .
1125.	"	" 26.	Capt. John Pidgeon, Under-Master Attendence.
1126.	"	Dec. 2.	Mary Hudson, Inhabitant.
1127.	"	" 5.	Charles Powers, Inhabitant.
1128.	1752.	Jan. 10.	James Mackey, son of Capt. Mackey.
1129.	"	Feb. 12.	Samuel Pursfield, Mariner.
1130.	"	Mar. 14.	Danl. Capard, Infant.
1131.	"	" 18.	Thomas Hamilton, Lieutenant of the Military.
1132.	"	Apl. 24.	Humphry Cole, Inhabitant.
1133.	"	" 25.	James Holmes, Infant.
1134.	"	May 3.	Archibald Crichton, Company's Servant
1135.	"	" 15.	William Woollhead, Inhabitant.
1136.	"	June 3.	John Scott, Infant Son of Mr. Scott, Pilot.
1137.	"	" 10.	George Kidey, Mate in the Sloops Service.
1138.	"	" 20.	Mr. James Ervin, Compy. Servant.
1139.	"	July 11.	Mr. James Fee, Mate of Capt. Duggen's Ship.
1140.	"	" 31.	Wm. Cowland, 2nd Mate of a Country Ship.
1141.	"	Aug. 2.	Adam Skinner, Capt. Clerk of the <i>Godolphin</i> .
1142.	"	" 9.	The Honble Wm. Fytche, Esqr., Govr.
1143.	"	" 11.	John Rannie, Infant.
1144.	"	" 17.	John Barrow, Infant.
1145.	"	" 20.	Mr. John Negus, Compy's Servant.
1146.	"	" 28.	James Campbell, Mariner.
1147.	"	Sept. 2.	John Richmond, 6th Mate of the <i>Godolphin</i> .
1148.	"	" 14.	Mr. Hannah Withrington, Inhabitant.
1149.	"	" 15.	George Tew, Inhabitant.
1150.	"	" 27.	Richard Law, 5th Mate of the <i>Godolphin</i> .
1151.	"	" 29.	Lieutenant Wm. Mackoion.
1152.	"	Oct. 16.	Mr. Thos. Smith, Supercargo
1153.	"	Nov. 3.	Philips Williams, late an Apprentice to Mr. John Knox, Patna.
1154.	"	" 24.	Mr. Robert Brown, Free Merchant.
1155.	"	" 25.	John Jorey, Inhabitant
1156.	"	Dec. 9.	Edward Crafts, Surgeon's Mate of the <i>Oxford</i> .
1157.	"	" 10.	John Shephard, Mariner.
1158.	"	" 15.	John Coatsworth, Inhabitant.
1159.	"	" 18.	Wm. Davenport, Keeper of the Jayle (<i>sic</i>).
1160.	"	" 20.	John Burge, Inhabitant.
1161.	1753.	Jan. 8.	Richard Weston, Inhabitant.
1162.	"	Feb. 20.	John Inch, Inhabitant.
1163.	"	Mar. 1.	Capt. David Hume.

1164.	1753.	Mar.	2.	David Godard, Court Sergt.
1165.	"	"	2.	Robert Ironsides, Inhabitant.
1166.	"	"	7.	John Williamson.
1167.	"	"	16.	George Arrearoo, a Grecian (<i>sic</i>) Inhabitant.
1168.	"	Apl.	21.	Jannetta Wedderburn, Daughter of Capt. Wedderburn.
1169.	"	May	12.	Edward Evans, Musician.
1170.	"	"	22.	Capt. Richard Mann, Deputy Master Attendance.
1171.	"	"	31.	Mr. Joseph Lowe, Comp. Servant.
1172.	"	July	8.	Ana Rope, Infant.
1173.	"	"	10.	Margarita Rope, Infant.
1174.	"	Aug.	2.	Mrs. Elizabeth Burridge, Daughter of Joab Charnock, (<i>sic</i>) the first Govr of Calcutta.
1175.	"	"	31.	John Lloyd, 3rd Mate of the <i>Mountfort</i> .
1176.	"	Sept.	10.	Mrs. Jane Smart, Inhabitant.
1177.	"	"	16.	Mr. William Keen, Lieutenant.
1178.	"	"	18.	Mr. Joseph Leeman, Surgeon of the <i>Mountfort</i> .
1179.	"	"	21.	Thomas Slaney, Midshipman of the <i>Portfield</i> .
1180.	"	"	23.	Mr. John Hall, Inhabitant.
1181.	"	"	26.	Robert Rose, Mariner.
1182.	"	Oct.	1.	Capt. John Coales, Inhabitant.
1183.	"	"	12.	Mr. Water Stainforth, Merchant.
1184.	"	"	13.	Mr. John Hemmins, Surgeon.
1185.	"	"	16.	Robert Madge, Midshipman of the <i>Mountfort</i> .
1186.	"	"	17.	Wm. Newman, Midshipman of the <i>Portfield</i> .
1187.	"	"	19.	Thomas Whitlash, Mariner.
1188.	"	"	26.	Mr. Strutton, Mariner.
1189.	"	Nov.	13.	John Stodard, Mate in Sloops Service.
1190.	"	"	30.	Joseph Bell, Inhabitant.
1191.	"	Dec.	28.	Byman Sculce, Junr., Pilot, Inhabitant.
1192.	"	"	30.	Isaac Chapman, Inhabitant.
1193.	1754.	Jan.	1.	Samuel Write, died on board the <i>Prince George</i> .
1194.	"	"	5.	Capt. Robert Gawscowin, and Country Captain.
1195.	"	"	25.	Robert Thrussell, Master in the Company Sloop Service.
1196.	"	Feb.	21.	William Foot, Infant.
1197.	"	Mar.	5.	Mary Macknathone, Infant.
1198.	"	"	7.	Pareskeebar, a Grecian.
1199.	"	"	7.	Daniel Dumbleton, Infant.
1200.	"	"	7.	William Branham, do.
1201.	"	"	15.	Mary Cooke, Infant.
1202.	"	"	18.	Michael Carrol, Inhabitant.
1203.	"	"	26.	Elizabeth Butterwick, Infant.
1204.	"	Apl.	6.	John Jennings, Inhabitant.
1205.	"	May	1.	Mrs. Martha Bonady, Inhabitant.
1206.	"	July	14.	Samuel Oliver, Merchant.
1207.	"	"	16.	Joseph Perkyns, Infant.
1208.	"	"	30.	Thomas Alford, Lieutenant in the Train.
1209.	"	Aug.	4.	Lucia Sumner, Infant.
1210.	"	"	18.	James Mackey, Inhabitant.
1211.	"	"	23.	Daniel Lefebvre, 5th Mate of the <i>Saint George</i> .
1212.	"	"	31.	Benjamin Brown, Inhabitant.

1213.	1754.	Sept. 5.	Thomas Roope, Infant.
1214.	"	" 9.	William Newstead, Midshipman of the <i>Mountfort</i> .
1215.	"	" 11.	Thomas Fisher, Mate in the Sloop Service.
1216.	"	" 11.	Joseph Lyon, Inhabitant.
1217.	"	" 21.	Peter Webster, Midshipman of the <i>Saint George</i> .
1218.	"	" 22.	John Shepherd, Inhabitant.
1219.	"	" 25.	Sarah Derick, Infant.
1220.	"	" 25.	Thomas Norton, Midshipman of the <i>Saint George</i> .
1221.	"	" 26.	Alexander Scott, Inhabitant.
1222.	"	Oct. 9.	Charles Knapton in the Hon'ble Company's Service at Madras.
1223.	"	" 10.	Charles Williams, Chief Mate of the <i>Denham</i> .
1224.	"	" 19.	Thomas Norton, Infant.
1225.	"	" 24.	Thomas Brough.
1226.	"	Nov. 7.	Daniel Payne, Invalid.
1227.	"	" 10.	Mr Mary Valicourt, Inhabitant.
1228.	"	" 10.	Charles Aston, Infant.
1229.	"	Dec. 5.	Mr. James Gay, Mariner.
1230.	"	" 7.	Mr. Robert Scott, Inhabitant.
1231.	"	" 7.	Delapool Ayseough, Mariner.
1232.	"	" 13.	Thomas French, Mate of Her Majesty's Ship <i>Bridgewater</i> .
1233.	"	" 23.	Thomas Harrison, Inhabitant.
1234.	"	" 24.	Capt. Robert Feitch of the Hon'ble Company's Ship <i>Anson</i>
1235.	1755.	Jan. 2.	William Christall, Inhabitant.
1236.	"	" 28.	John Ellis, Inhabitant.
1237.	"	" 31.	Thomas Bostock, Infant.
1238.	"	Feb. 2.	John Inman, Surgeon of His Majesty's Ship <i>Kingfisher</i> .
1239.	"	" 10.	Mr. Holland Goddard, Merchant.
1240.	"	" 17.	Best Michell Esq., Master and Commandar of His Majesty's Ship <i>Kingfisher</i> .
1241.	"	Mar. 26.	Mr. John Drummon, Company's Servant
1242.	"	Apl. 23.	Ann Connor, Inhabitant.
1243.	"	" 25.	Edward Plaisted, Inhabitant.
1244.	"	May 28.	Mrs. Rachel Alexander, Inhabitant
1245.	"	" 29.	Alexander Wilson, Inhabitant.
1246.	"	" 31.	Joseph Dunkley, Lieutenant, Invalid
1247.	"	June 8.	William Bird, Mariner.
1248.	"	" 17.	Mary Eyre, Infant.
1249.	"	" 22.	Eleanor Douglas, Infant.
1250.	"	" 30.	Eleanor Holme, Inhabitant.
1251.	"	July 16.	Charles Wedderburn.
1252.	"	" 21.	John Weston, Mariner.
1253.	"	Aug. 14.	William Berkeley, Infant.
1254.	"	" 15.	Rachel Bowler, Inhabitant.
1255.	"	" 15.	William Wells, Lieutenant of the Artillery.
1256.	"	" 16.	Lucy Dutton, Infant
1257.	"	Sept. 9.	Mrs. Sarah Lutton, Inhabitant.
1258.	"	" 13.	Daniel Wright, Purser of the <i>Hardwick</i> .
1259.	"	" 21.	Jane Becher, Infant.
1260.	"	" 25.	John Nicholson, Mariner.
1261.	"	" 26	George Cox, 5th Mate of the <i>London</i> .

1262.	1755.	Oct.	1.	John Nicholls, 2nd Mate of the <i>London</i> .
1263.	"	"	8.	Michael William Howard, Mariner.
1264.	"	"	11.	John White, Inhabitant.
1265.	"	"	23.	Francis Handy, Purser of the Ship <i>London</i> , Capt. Alwight.
1266.	"	"	26.	Christopher Rains, Mariner.
1267.	"	"	27.	John Tompson Inhabitant.
1268.	"	"	29.	Charles Witherington, Infant.
1269.	"	"	29.	Susanna D'Coasta, Inhabitant.
1270.	"	"	31.	Charles Desborough, Mariner.
1271.	"	"	31.	Capt. Robert Saunderson.
1272.	"	Nov.	1.	Capt. Samuel Lutton.
1273.	"	"	4.	Joseph Tompson, Inhabitant.
1274.	"	"	6.	Francis Read, Inhabitant.
1275.	"	"	6.	Richard Payne, Mariner.
1276.	"	"	8.	Mrs. Jane Douglas, Inhabitant.
1277.	"	"	10.	John Parker, Mariner.
1278.	"	"	15.	William Prosser, 3rd Mate of the <i>Anson</i> .
1279.	"	"	21.	Peter Griffis, Mariner.
1280.	"	"	22.	Captain Jasper Leigh Jones.
1281.	"	"	26.	Robert Waugh, Inhabitant.
1282.	"	Dec.	3.	Alexander Anderson, Inhabitant.
1283.	"	"	9.	Alexander Dernixon, Infant.
1284.	"	"	29.	John Harding, Lieutenant.

Leaves from the Editor's Note-book.

'The time has come,' the Walrus said,
 'To talk of many things :
Of shoes—and ships—and sealing wax
 Of cabbages—and kings—
And why the sea is boiling hot—
 And whether pigs have wings.'

THE following is the Bengali inscription on the Pearce monument in the compound of the Judge's House at Midnapur.* I am indebted to Mr. W. N. Delevingne I. C. S. who obtained for me the following transcription.

শ্রীরাম

মেন্ত্র জান পিয়াষ সাহেব জিলা যেদিনীপুর বাড়ো বৎসর কেলটিরি
কাজ করিয়া সন ১৭৮৮ ইংরেজি ২০ মেই সন ১১৯৫ বাঞ্ছলা ১১ জৈষ্ঠী কাল
হইয়াছে তাহার কবরে এই কিত্তি করিয়া দেয়া গেল।

The Rev. Harold Spooner, recently Chaplain of Dinapur, but now on his way to join the Persian Gulf Expeditionary Force,† has been so kind as to send me the following letter.

"Office of the Executive Engineer, Buxar Division, Dated Buxar the 25th May 1915.

From Babu Saroda Sundar Paul, Executive Engineer, Buxar Division.
To the Chaplain, Dinapur.

Sir,

In reply to your demi-official letter dated the 6th May 1915 I have the honor to state that the cemetery referred to is called the "Stud cemetery" and was in use when the Central Jail buildings were in use as a Stud farm up to the year 1860.

There are 9 graves in the Cemetery having a 3'-6" high compound walls enclosing a space of 36 ft. x 86 ft.

The Cemetery is borne in the books of the Public Works Department bearing P. W. D. No. 9 and is maintained by this Department.

Of the 9 graves in the compound the following inscription is found in one of them (also another grave stone bearing the inscription "Louisa

* See above p. 186.

† Written on July 13th, 1915.

Agnes Johnston daughter of Captain Johnston of H. M. 6th Regt. 1859") "Sacred to the memory of Benjamin Edward infant son of Emena Paris who died at Buxar on the 31st January 1860—Aged 1 year 3 months."

"The lovely lad so young——called him——by early——just come to show a proof."

There are no further records available on the subject in this office."

The following extracts from the Minutes of Consultations of the President and Council at Fort William throw some useful light on the doings of Warren Hastings in the year 1759. These extracts will serve to show the absurdity of the picturesque language employed by many writers who have described Warren Hastings as having in the early years of his service occupied very much the same position as that of a draper's assistant. I will not even in foot-notes, worry the reader with an explanation of the *aboabs* referred to. For these matters the reader may be referred to the forthcoming reissue of the *Fifth Report of 1812*. The Anglo-Indian representatives of hybrid Arabic, Persian, Hindi, Turki, and Tamil technical terms are, of course, one of the many things which make an earnest study of the history of the British Raj in Indies a simple occupation. These lucid and in everyway delightful technical terms remind one of the following passage from *Alice Through the Looking Glass*:

"Fan her head!", the Red Queen anxiously interrupted. "She'll be feverish after so much thinking." So they set to work and fanned her with branches of leaves, till she had to beg them to leave off, it blew her hair about so.

"She's all right again now", said the Red Queen. "Do you know Languages? What's the French for fiddle-de-dee?"

"Fiddle-de-dee's not English", Alice replied gravely.

"Who said it was?" said the Red-Queen.

Alice thought she saw a way out of the difficulty this time. "If you'll tell me what language 'fiddle-de-dee' is, I'll tell you the French for it!" she exclaimed triumphantly.

But the Red Queen drew herself up rather stiffly, and said "Queens never make bargains".

"I wish Queens never asked questions", Alice thought to herself."

I.

Extract from Minutes of Consultation, dated the 4th January, 1759.

Received two letters from Mr. Hastings Moraudbaag One dated the 28th & the other the 29th Ultimo—the former requesting the Muchileka¹ & Security

1. Muchalkah—a written agreement.

to be given for the Company's Zemindarree and informing us that a special sunnud is drawn out for the free possession of Calcutta including 600 Yards beyond the Moharatta ditch for which likewise a Muchileka is to be given by the Company binding themselves to defend the Town of Calcutta likewise desiring our orders concerning the Nezaranna or Piscush to be given for the possession of the Company's Zamindarree ; that upon the receipt of our letter of the 4th he had inquired of Omidroy¹ the cause of his having omitted the Rs. 34,414-2 paid by Mr. Srafton on accot. of the Company's lands, who informed him that no such sum had been entered in the Calsa² Account but that he would make further examination into it—that Omidroy has since informed him that no notice is taken in any of the Calsa papers of any payment made by Mr. Srafton on accot. Of the Calcutta lands—that Conjubeharry having left his accounts in great disorder may have been the cause of this deficiency, but that as Mr. Srafton & Conjubeharry are in Calcutta they will be able to explain it. The other acknowledging the recet. of our letter of the 26th with the Muchilekas enclosed—and informing us that the two Sunnuds for the zemindarree & Town of Calcutta and received the Nabob's seal and remains only to be signed by the Roy Royan and to have the (illegible) of the Roy Royan's Mohrir affixed to it that the Royroyan had insisted on the Kistbundee for the Company's Revenues which he had hitherto evaded beginning (illegible) waiting our orders concerning the exemptions that he therefore requested our Instructions as soon as possible on that important point with a copy of the Treaty.

2.

Extract from Minutes of Consultation, dated the 15th January, 1759.

Received a letter from Mr. Hastings at Moraudbaag dated the 10th Inst. acknowledging the recet. of our letters of the 2d. & 6th Instant & informing us he shall tender the Conongos security according to our orders ; that every arrangement has been made use of to induce the Nabob to quit the lands of Sookchur to the Company, but have proved ineffectual by reason of the Owner being much befriended by the Nabob ; that the Sunnud has several days since passed the Nabob's seal, and therefore he concludes we shall not think it advisable to go over the whole business again for the sake of this affair alone, but that if we still disapprove of the seclusion of this District, it will be necessary to apply for the grant of it in a separate Sunnud ; that in a former letter he has mentioned the particulars of the Kistbundee the different articles therein expressed independently of the amot. of the Sunnud are the

1. Ummid Ray, the Ray Rayan.
2. Khalisah, the exchequer.

Mahratta chout; the Khasnavice the Nezerana Poonca; Sewy Bazyast Sebundec; Nezaranna Mohurriree, Nezeranna Munsoorgunge; & Aboab Phozdarreas; that the four last of these no ways appertain to the King's account but have been occasionally imposed on the Zemidars by the Subahs, and he thinks may with great justice be disputed by the Company and gives us an explanation of the Sewy, Chout & Khasnevesee, desiring that if it be our final determination not to allow of these additions he will acquaint the Nabob with it & with our reasons for it, and concludes with a translation of the Ninth article of the Treaty which is as follows. "The lands to the south of Calcutta as far as Culpee shall be the Zemindarree of the English Company, and the authority & government of that district shall be vested wholly in the English according to the Custom of the former zemindars they shall pay the King's Revenues."

Extract from the Minutes of Consultation dated the 29th January, 1759.

Received a letter from Mr. Warren Hastings at Moraudbaug dated in January informing us that he had acquainted the Nabob with our resolution to allow of nothing beyond the sum expressed in the sunnud which information the Nabob received with manifest signs of discontent and insisted strongly on his right to the separate articles particularly the Chout, & Khasnevesee; that after many Consultations with the Roy Royan & his other Mutusdees* upon this subject the Nabob seems inclinable to submit the decision of [illegible] to us; that the principal points the Nabob seems to contend for are the Suvy, Chout, Khasnevasee & Naz Poonea; that for the Nabob's sentiments on this subject he refers us to his own letter to the President which he has sent by Cossinaut,¹ who with the Sunnud left this place this morning; that, the collection of the small remainder of the Company's Tuncaws² being attended with great difficulties and occasioning perpetual disputes betwixt the Company's people & those sent by the Government upon their several claims on the Zemindars, he has at length after many fruitless attempts prevailed on the Nabob that it should be paid out of his Treasury, and that since the Roy Royan & Raja Bullub have given him separate obligations for the payment of the ballances due on the Calsa & Jaguir³ account & Keenoram⁴ for that of Boozzurgomedpoor⁵ to be made within the space of two months

* Mutasaddi, a clerk.

1. Kasi Nath.

2. Tankhwah—assignments of revenue.

3. Jagir.

4. Kanna Ram.

5. Buzurgumedpur. See Beveridge: *Bakarganj*, p. 94 *et seq.*; Seton-Karr: *Selections*, p. 185

Long: *Selections*, p. 408.

that according to the latest payments the Accounts with the Zemindars stand as follows vizt.

Due on the Calsa Account.						
From Jessore	...	...	16910	14	3	
Rokkunpore	...	...	6427	10	3	
Goomgur	...	...	16369	7	6	
Radshawee	...	...	11907	13	"	
Futtijungpoor	...	...	5448	15	"	
						57065 12 "
Due on the Jaguir Account						
Chunderdeep	...	...	19421	14	3	
Serail	...	...	6500	"	"	
Sundeep	...	...	6312	"	"	
						32233 14 3
From Backergunge	...	...				56000 " "
						145309 10 3

Which accommodation he hopes we shall approve of, most of the outstanding ballances appearing scarcely recoverable when he took the charge of this business.

4.

Extract from Minutes of Consultation, dated the 26th February, 1759.

Received a letter from Mr. Warren Hastings at Moraudbaag dated the 20th Inst. enclosing a translation of the Sunnud for the lands and informing us that the Sunnud for the free tenure of the Town of Calcutta &c. will be forwarded with all possible expedition.

Extract from Minutes of Consultation, dated the 12th March, 1759.

Received two letters from Mr. Hastings at Moraudbaag dated the 5th & 8th Inst. the former enclosing a copy of the Kistbundee as settled with the Roy Royan amounting to Rs. 98,468, as 4, gs 16 which with 20,101 Rs. due on accot. of the Pishcush makes a ballance of Rs. 1,18,569-4-16 due on the Zemindarree Account, and advising us that the ballance of the last year was Rs. 75,596-1-13-1 ; that he is now drawing out the account of that ballance with the particulars from the several zemindars accounts current signed by their own hands, which he will forward for our inspection ; that there is a Custom of 6-4 p. mille taken from all sums paid into the Nabob's Treasury as a fee to the Treasurers &c. which perquisite is paid by all other zemindars and desires our determination whether the Hon'ble Company ought to be charged with it ; that the proprietors of several small Talucks bordering

upon the lands of the Honble Company have made great complaints that the most profitable part of their lands being become the property of the Company, the income of the remainder is not sufficient to pay the rents due to the Government ; that to put a stop to these complaints the Roy Royan has proposed that the Company undertake the collection of the Revenues of the said Talucks and be responsible, for the same as the wadadar¹ of those lands, and requests our answer ; the names of the Talucks are.

Perguna of Bellia,² the Taluck of Kissonchurn &ca.

Perguna of Havelleasheshr³ Do. Dirpnarain

Kissmut Do. of Do. ... Do. Chundechurn

Perguna of Hatcunda ... Do. Sumboochund

Toppee Sottulb.

Perguna of Khaspoor the Taluck of Rajaram ;

That the Roy Royan has made a demand for the payment of part of the ballance due on the Kistbundee which Mr. Hastings has declined, as he understands from Nuncomar that there has been a deficiency in the Hughley Tuncaw of two Laack of Rs. ; that ballance was to be transferred to the Company Zemidarree Accot. That he has agreed to pay 20,101 Rs. which were due on accot. the Pishcush, which he hopes we shall approve ; that by orders of the President he has advanced Scivtaran Bose & Gopeechurn Sircar Sicca Rs. 5000 for the provision of boats for the Hon'ble Company's Troops.

Mr. Wilmot Corfield sends me a copy of a holograph letter of the Rev. John Owen, of whom a sympathetic account will be found in Archdeacon Hyde's *Parochial Annals of Bengal*. The name of the person to whom the letter is addressed does not appear.

Calcutta, March 10, 1788.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have much reason to take shame to myself that I have not long before this thanked you from this distant country for the many civilities you were pleased to show me. The honour of your acquaintance I prize much more highly than I can express and grievously shd. I be mortified were I to forfeit it by my negligence. My progress through life serves daily to convince me of the great happiness and benefit of having access to such persons, nor do I know a circumstance in life I covet more than to be permitted sometimes to enter your doors shd. I again inhabit the same country.

My voyage to India was prosperous, on my arrival here I was appointed chaplain to the Garrison of Fort William, and lately on the departure of one of the chaplains to the Presidency I was appointed to succeed him not indeed in my turn for I had several of my brethren here who were my seniors.

1. Wa'dahdar. An officer responsible under bond (*wa'dah*) for the collections of the revenue of a Zamindari.

2. Balia.

3. Halishahar.

There are two of us belonging to the Presidency, our duty and our salaries are equal, the latter is somewhat better than a thousand pounds per ann. I have lived a little out of the Town with a particular friend Mr. Richard Johnson, a gentleman of the first qualities both intellectual and moral. Everything that this sulky climate admits we possess. My health has not always been the best but by exercise and moderate living I manage to rub on nearly as well as my neighbours. What you call health in England seems to be pretty generally unknown here. The languor of the climate is excessive but as the European inhabitants of this part of India are generally as to age in the prime of life, perhaps the proportion of deaths is not much greater than in colder countries. I am a member of a tontine which has now been instituted 3 years, there are upwards of a hundred persons who are members of it, and there has not in that space one of them died. Formerly the mortality in Calcutta was excessive, they fed worse, and lived in lower roomed houses. The immediate vicinity of the town to the south from whence the wind blows during the rains and the hot months that precede them has been cleared, people live in good houses, and do not now so frequently die.

I am afraid I have not the good fortune to be remembered in the faintest manner by that excellent man Dr. Sharp, otherwise I shd. entreat you to present my best respects to him, it is with the sincerest wishes for the happiness of you both that

I have the honor
to be
with the highest esteem
Dear Sir,
Your most faithful and obedt. servt.

JOHN OWEN.

From Volume IV of the *Selections from the Calcutta Gazetteer* I gather the following advertisement which belongs to the year 1810.

FOR SALE

SODA WATER FROM SCHWEPPÉ & CO.

Jas. Taylor & Co., have for sale a small quantity of Soda Water in some quarts and pints, imported on the *Lord Keith*.

I turn to the *Everyman Encyclopædia*, the only Encyclopædia I possess, but although I find in it an article on Ærated Water, I can find nothing to enlighten me as to the history of Soda Water in general or of Messrs. Schweißpe & Co's product in particular. Soda Water has doubtless an important place of its own in the history of Calcutta, so I will make no apology for reproducing the following advertisement made in March 1813.

SODA WATER CHARGED WITH FIXED AIR, AT A REDUCED PRICE.

Messrs. Gould and Campbell respectfully inform the public that they have received a quantity of SODA WATER, in strong glass pint bottles, in the best possible order: every bottle warranted to effervesce when the cork is drawn, and which they are authorized to offer for sale Ten Rupees per Dozen.

N. B.—Two Rupees per dozen will only be allowed for empty glass bottles after this date.

A year later, Messrs. Tulloch & Co. "beg respectfully to inform the public that they are appointed sole agents for the sale of the Bengal Soda Water Manufactory, and to assure them that every attention will be paid to have it all times of good quantity. They have also received a supply made from the Rain water, since the weather became cooler, which will be found better than that which has been lately offered for sale."

The *santa simplicitas* of the advertisement last quoted recalls the sweet reasonableness of the modern Ships' Steward, who, before leaving Calcutta, lays in a supply of Calcutta aerated water at six annas per dozen, in the firm but humble expectation that ere the Red Sea is reached and the stock of Schweppes is reported to have been exhausted the thirsty passenger will gladly purchase the Calcutta product at the rate he has been prepared to pay for Schweppes'. Would that were more of such candid trusting creatures in this far too complex world!

As a Railway line is soon to be established between Kalighat and Fulta, the following advertisement (of 1814) will be of interest, not only to the shareholders, but to students of Rudyard Kipling:

FULTAH FARM AND TAVERN.

For private sale, that well-known and long-established Concern, at present conducted under the Firm of Higginson and Baldwin.

Most eligibly situated at Fultah, contiguous to the river, and which has for many years enjoyed the greatest celebrity as a Farm, and the highest reputation as a Tavern, comprehending the well-arranged suite of buildings, as they now stand, with the extensive and beautiful grounds, appertaining thereto, most advantageously laid out, and embracing all the objects of Establishment, together with or without the whole of the Farming Utensils and Live Stock in Trade, and the entire Fittings-up as a Tavern, on the most extensive scale for the general resort of passengers to and from Calcutta.

For further particulars, enquire of Mr. Higginson, No. 16, Chowringhee Road.

In Vol. IX (facing p. 216) of *Bengal Past and Present* was included a photo of the bust of the first Lord Minto presented by the late Viceroy to replace the bust of his Ancestor destroyed by the earthquake of 1897. The following correspondence relates to the subject. It is interesting to notice that Lord Minto dated his letter from "Chouringhee." It is to be observed that Lord Moira [the Marquess of Hastings] the incoming Governor-General set foot at Chand Pal Ghat on Monday, October 4th, and proceeded in state to

Government House where he assumed charge of his great office. Lord Minto was present at the landing of the *General Kyd* on November 9th, 1813, an occasion when "almost all the beauty, rank, and position of Calcutta" sat down "to an elegant and well furnished set of tables, laid with upwards of 400 covers" to discuss "choice and well cooled wines" and "viands excellent." The fact that relieved Governors-General stayed on in Calcutta for a time after the arrival of their successors may perhaps account for the quite impossible claims put forward on behalf of a number of old houses to rank as "former Government Houses."

*Address of the Select Vestry of St. John's Church to EARL OF
MINTO, with His Lordship's Answer.*

To The Right Honorable the EARL OF MINTO.

MY LORD,

On the occasion of your Lordship's approaching departure from India, permit us, the Select Vestry of St. John's Church, to express our sentiments of respect for your Lordship's person, and the gratitude we feel for the alterations and improvements of the Church, which have been executed under your Lordship's auspices.

We have the satisfaction of assuring your Lordship, that public opinion is in perfect unison with our own on the improved convenience and general appearance of this sacred Edifice

In requesting the favor, which we have the honor to solicit from your Lordship, we are influenced by another and very powerful motive, namely, your Lordship's eminent example in regularly attending Divine Worship, and countenancing, by your presence, the observance of the Sabbath Day, and the Services of our venerable Church.

In your Lordship's exalted station, it were almost needless for us to say, how greatly such an example has contributed, and we venture to add, ever will contribute, towards the preservation and increase of true Religion, the extension of the blessings of Christianity, and the maintenance and prosperity of the Established Church of our Country.

These considerations have induced us to signify a wish, that your Lordship would be pleased to favor us with a Bust of your Lordship, to be placed on the Pedestal in the angle of the stair-case leading to the south gallery, recording the enlargement and improvement of the Edifice under your Lordship's auspices, and corresponding with that of the Most Noble the Marquis Cornwallis, in the north stair-case of the Church.

In thus endeavouring to perpetuate your Lordship's name in St. John's Church, we discharge a duty grateful to our own feelings and, we respectfully hope, in a manner which will ensure to us the favor we have the honor to solicit.

With the highest respect and esteem, we have the honour to remain,
my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient and faithful servants,

J. WARD, *D. D.*, *Senior Chaplain*,
H. SHEPHERD, *Junior Chaplain*,
R. M'CLINTOCK,
W. MORTON,
G. CRUTTENDEN,
R. CAMPBELL,

VESTRY ROOM, } Church.
OCT. 6, 1813. } Wardens.

(2)

To the Select Vestry of St. John's Church.

GENTLEMEN,

I am very highly gratified by the favourable sentiments you have been pleased to convey to me, in your address of the 6th instant. It is indeed impossible that I should not set a just value on the esteem of your body; whether I consider the sacred and interesting objects of its institution, or the respectable persons of whom it is composed.

That the improvements, both in accommodation and appearance, of St. John's Church, which have lately been accomplished should have fallen within a period, during which the influence of the situation I have filled, could contribute to so worthy and desirable an object, I account a fortunate occurrence in my administration. But I should sacrifice truth to a selfish pride, if I did not acknowledge with satisfaction, that the Congregation of St. John's Church, and the Public of the City, are indebted for so great an advantage, to the zealous care of the Vestry itself, and more especially to the earnest and unwearied exertions, directed by the correct judgment of the Revd. Dr. Ward, Senior Chaplain at the Presidency, and the first member of your Body.

Bearing, as I am happy to do, this just and merited testimony, I may freely profess without offence to personal modesty, my entire concurrence in the sentiments which you truly ascribe to the public at

large, in consideration of the substantial amelioration which has taken place, both in the convenience now afforded for public worship, and in the decent and suitable splendour of a church, which in some senses may perhaps be deemed Metropolitan to the whole Christian community of India.

That any part of my conduct, although no more in truth than the discharge of a duty, for which its own intrinsic obligation could scarcely leave room for any collateral motive, however worthy, should be connected in your minds with the advancement of Religion, and the promotion of its pious observances is, I confess, more acceptable than any other tribute I could have received of your esteem.

I accede with grateful pleasure to your request for my Bust. If it should tend to prolong in your minds sentiments in any degree corresponding to those with which I part from a community, in whose devotions I have so long partaken, my sincere and cordial wishes will be accomplished ; while my association, even partial and accidental, with the venerable Founder of your Church, the wise and virtuous Marquis of Cornwallis, will constitute a principal pride of my late station.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect and regard.

GENTLEMEN,

Your obedient and faithful humble Servant,

CHOURINGHIEE,
11th Oct. 1813.

MINTO

The following extract from the *Calcutta Gazette* might give rise to an interesting controversy.

Fort William, 14th January 1813.

A dispatch from the Superintendent of Nizamut affairs at Moorshedabad has been received by the Right Hon'ble the Governor General in Council, announcing the melancholy event of the decease of Her Highness the Munny Begum, widow of the late Nabob Jaafer Alli Khaun, ancestor of the reigning Nabob of Bengal, on the morning of the 10th instant.

Her Highness's remains were interred with the honors due to her exalted rank in the evening of the same day at a mosque in the city of Moorshedabad.

In testimony of respect to the memory of Her late Highness the Munny Begum, the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council has been pleased to direct that minute guns to the number of ninety,

answering to the years of the deceased, be fired from the ramparts of Fort William at four o'clock this evening, the flag being hoisted half-mast high.

Published by command of the Right Hon'ble the Governor General in Council.

G. DOWDESWELL,

Chief Secy. to the Govt.

Contrast with the above the following from Beale's *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* (New Edition revised by H. G. Keene 1894.)

Munni Begam a concubine* of Mir Ja'far, Nawab of Bengal. After his death, and the death of his two sons Najm-uddaula and Saif-uddaula, she was appointed guardian to Mubárik-uddaula, the infant son of the late Nawab by Warren Hastings, in preference to others whose claims were more plausible. The guardianship was taken away from the Begam in A. D. 1776. She was the mother of Najm-uddaula. She died A. D. 1779, Sha'bán, A. H. 1103.

The late Babu Purna Chandra Majumdar, a well-beloved member of our Society, in his *Musnud of Murshidabad* (p 133) gives April 1812 as the date of the Begam's death. Sydney C. Grier writes (*Letters of Warren Hastings to his Wife* p. 229): "When Lord Valentia saw her, she confessed to being sixty-eight, but must have been much older, for in 1813 Toone mentions that Munny Bigham died on January 10th, at the age of ninety-seven".

In January 1806, Mr. Richmond Thackeray, the father of the Novelist, was expecting a transfer, and the sale of his property "at his house in Chowringhee" is announced by Messrs. Lawtre & Gould to take place on Friday the 10th of January. The property comprised:—

Very handsome new Plate and Plated-ware, of the most useful kinds; Persian Scimitars and Poniards, in velvet Scabbards, very richly mounted in silver; dress and other Swords and Fire Arms; a handsome Ebony Portable Desk, richly ornamented and mounted in solid silver; a large Mahogany Box of Reeves's Colors, with silver mountings; an excellent Library of Books; Ackermann's collection of beautiful Engravings, for 1804-5, exquisitely colored and highly finished, in large vellum Port Folios, richly gilt and lettered,

* The common fallacy which refuses Munni Begam the title of wife is based on an ignorance of the marriage law of the Mohammedan community to which Mir Jafar belonged.

imported on one of the last ships, and cost upwards of 100 Guineas ; a capital patent Saloon Organ, with fine Barrels, of the latest and most approved Tunes, having the Flageolet, Tabor, Drum, Triangle, Diapason Principal, Twelfth and Flute Stops ; very fine Statues in Plaister of Paris ; handsome plated mounted double and single branch Wall Shades, and large hanging Vase Lamps, with plated rims, boxes, chains, complete ; valuable Paintings, Prints, and Convex Mirrors, in rich burnished gold frames ; very fashionable Household Furniture, in white and gold and in Mahogany, Ebony, and other handsome Wood ; Carpets ; Settringees ; and a variety of other articles.

Likewise, his Coach and valuable Carriage and Saddle Horses, *viz* :—

The young very active, and highly dressed, light grey Arab Saddle Horse

“ *Nimble* ” 14½ hands high, moves in an elegant style, shows much blood, has a fine generous temper, and is believed perfectly sound, wind and limb.

A young and handsome dark Iron Grey Saddle Horse, half Arab, 15 hands high, has good temper, and promises well.

A handsome little Chesnut Mare that has been rode by a lady, and believed to be perfectly sound and quiet.

A pair of strong and very beautiful young Dark Chesnut Carriage Horses, above 15½ hands high, an excellent match, sound and quiet, go in good style, having been trained with the utmost attention and care, and are worthy the attention of any Gentleman in want of a pair of horses of this description.

A handsome Europe built Coach, body painted a Dark Brown, ornamented with double plated beading and lined with yellow Cloth, lamps in front, and suitable carriage part.

Four volumes of the Bengal District Records Series* have now appeared, and a fifth may be expected very shortly from the press. Two of the volumes already published are concerned with Midnapur—one of the three districts ceded to the Company in 1760. It is somewhat surprising that in the early English records of the Midnapur District scarcely anything is to be found that relates to the Midnapur Zamindari Family. There are just a few references to the Rani Siromani,† who is accused of sheltering dacoits, and that is practically all. From Mr. L. S. S. O’Malley’s *Gazetteer of Midnapur*, I learn that the Rani was one of the two wives of Ajit Singh of Karnagarh, who was the descendant of a treacherous Dewan of the Jungal chief, the Kharia Raja,

* The volumes may be obtained through Messrs. Thacker Spink & Co.

† Rani Swarnamayi, (Hunter).

to whose dominions Midnapur once belonged. It is said that Ajit Singh died in 1753, and his two wives succeeded to the Raj. At a date now unknown, the two Ranis fled before the *Chuars*, who under their chief, Gobardhan Sardar, took possession of Midnapur, and in 1756, the year of the Seige of Calcutta, they entered into an agreement with Trilochun Khan of Narajol by which, in return for suppression of the *Chuars* and the restoration of Midnapur to the Ranis, the Raj of Midnapur was to accrue to the Narajol Rajas on the death of the last surviving Rani. The Rani Bhawani died in 1760. So late as 1799 the Rani Siromani is found mixed up in a *Chuar* rebellion.

Jaunpur is so close to the borders of the province of *Bengal Past and Present* that I have ventured to include in the present number some illustrations of the architecture of that most picturesque city. To any one who has visited the Adina Masjid at Panduah the style of the Jaunpore buildings must be of the greatest interest. Among the illustrations in the present number will be found a view of Philip Francis' town house, which is now in course of demolition.

Of Monday, August the 15th, 1757, Surgeon Ives writes : "this was the most sultry day I ever experienced in India ; not a breath of air was there for many hours ; both man and the very fowls of the air, so sensibly felt it, that some of each species fell down dead." On such a day, I conclude my contributions to the tenth volume of *Bengal Past and Present*,* and in so doing, suggest the following most distressingly difficult examination question for students of Calcutta history to discuss : *viz*—

1. Where was Fraserganj, and for what reasons was it celebrated ?

June 8th 1915.

WALTER K. FIRMINGER.

* Surgeon Ives' plan for cooling a room was to "fumigate" it with vinegar and lemon.



Members' Note Book.

M R. A. F. C. de Cosson gives the following list of graves at Suez (1840-1866) :—

- (1) John Bonny, 1840.
 - (2) Algernon Golding Brenchly, Cornet H. Ms. 4th. Light Dragoons 1841,
 - (3) Henry J. Young, of H. Co.'s Ship *Atlanta*, 1849.
 - (4) John Augustus Drummond Forbes, son of John Forbes, 3rd. Bombay Cavalry, 1856.
 - (5) William Millard, late S.S. *Bengal*, 1857.
 - (6) Frances Jane Carnegy, wife of Captain Alexander Carnegy, Bombay Army, 1857.
 - (7) Mary, wife of Major Stovell M.D., Bombay Army, 1858.
 - (8) Brevet Major John George Disbrowe of H. Ms. 43rd. Light Infantry, 1828-1860.
 - (9) Joseph Leachman, 186 ?
 - (10) Herbert Cander de Condé, 1866.
 - (11) Maria Gibbas, (no date).
 - (12) Thomas Sorell, "
 - (13) John Gegra, "
 - (14) Thomas Watts, "
-

The same writer sends us the following note on "TELIAGHARI FORT, THE KEY OF BENGAL, AND THE OLD RIVER ROAD." Some years ago (*vide Bengal Past & Present*, Vol. V, 1909) I wrote of the fort of Teliaghari stating that I could find out nothing about its history. Since then I have read Mrs. Annette S. Beveridge's translation of the *Humayun Nama* by Gul-Baden Begam, where there is an interesting reference to this old Bengal fort.

When Humayun became Emperor in 1530 he gradually lost all the provinces gained by his father the Emperor Babar. One of the persons acting against him was Sher Shah Afghan in Bengal who by 1532 had obtained possession of the country as far west as Chunar.

Humayun's campaign against Sher Shah started successfully with the recapture of Chunar in 1536 ; and, after taking Benares, he advanced towards Gaur. In the meantime Sher Shah retired to join his son Jilal Khan, who was with Khawas Khan at Gaur. Sher Khan sent them out, and said. "Go

and fortify Ghari. Both came and occupied Ghari." The Ghari referred to was Teliaghari, "the Gate of Bengal." Humayun wrote to Jahangir Beg Quchin, "Advance a stage, and go up to Ghari. There was fighting, and Jahangir Beg was wounded and many men were slain," says Gul-Baden Begam. The Emperor was at Colgong at the time of this fight and after spending three or four days there, found it advisable to march on. He halted near Teliaghari; and, on his advancing nearer, Sher Shah and Khawas Khan fled by night, and Humayun entered the fort next day. I presume this must have been in 1536 or 1537.

Humayun shortly afterwards took Gaur and renamed it Jannatabad (the City of Paradise). Here he spent many months devoted to pleasure, his army "perishing in great numbers in that sink of fever and corruption." In the meanwhile Sher Shah was regaining his prestige and gathering his forces between Gaur and Delhi and at the same time Hindal was in open rebellion against his brother, the Emperor. The Emperor advanced from Gaur in 1539 by the left (or Purnia) bank of the Ganges as far as Monghyr where he was asked by his Amirs to take the right bank, "lest Shir Khan should say, forsaking his road of advance, he took another of retreat." As matters turned out Humayun was defeated by Sher Shah at the battle of Chausa in 1539 on the right bank of the Ganges,—"such was God's will," says² the Begam. The Emperor and his sister Gul-Baden and others escaped, but many were slain or captured. Mrs. Beveridge makes a slight error in describing Chausa as being near where the river Sone falls into the Ganges. The river is, of course, the Karmnasa.

If the fort at the pass of Teliaghari was really built by Sher Shah, and not merely strengthened by him, we obtain the date of its construction. I considered it of an earlier date as the Pass must have been always a strong position worth fortifying. Sir W.W. Hunter in the *Gazetteer*, says it was constructed, but never finished, by a Teli zamindar who was forcibly converted by the Mahomedans in the eighteenth century, but he gives no date or names. He adduces the name Teliaghari from this fact, and I prefer his rendering of the name. Mrs. Beveridge uses the spelling Teriaghari. Plaisted's map (1737) spells it Teliagan, and Orme's map (1804) shows Tacragully, while locally, Hunter's spelling applies. In the sixteenth century it was known as Ghari, so that Hunter's information regarding the fort having been built in the eighteenth century does not appear to be correct.

I give these details, as previously I made the plan of the fort, (published in *Bengal Past & Present*), in order that this rapidly crumbling structure may have some record devoted to it. Up to 1909 it certainly had not been conserved by the Archaeological Department. Perhaps the records of the Asiatic Society may enlighten us regarding its history.

The old River Road which passes through Teliaghari ran from Murshidabad to Benares, Patna and Bhagalpur. When the Grand Trunk Road was built in the thirties of the last century, this old road fell into disuse and at the present day is well-nigh obliterated in many parts. I like to recall the traffic which must have passed along it in the days of its importance. The armies, the Palkee Dawks with the accompanying bearers, the banghy-burdars and the masalchis. The very words have dropped out of use. In those spacious days the masalchi carried torches or lamps, now he has degenerated into washing plates,—and the River Road is merely a name. Historically interesting in the 16th. and 17th. centuries, it was a busy thoroughfare in the 18th, sharing with the River the up-country traffic.

I know something of this road between the bridge of Dakra Nala near Monghyr, and Rajmahal. From Monghyr it passes Pirpahar, Sultanganj, Bhagalpur and Colgong, all once places where Europeans built palatial houses and indigo-factories. Between Colgong and Pirpainti is the *Boran*, a series of weedy waterways, said to be the ancient bed of the Ganges, where fifty or sixty years ago rhino were shot, and now consecrated to wild-fowl and muggar. At Pirpainti is an isolated graveyard, and Samuel Middleton's monument on the top of a hill. The road follows close under the dark outlying spurs of the Santal hills, among bamboo clumps, and occassionally passes the boundary pillars of the Daman-i-Koh. Then comes the Fort of Teliaghari at the foot of a promontory of the hills, once situated on the main stream of the Ganges. Seven miles beyond is Sahebgang with its old Indigo Factory near a great earth fort surrounded by a moat, the history of which I know nothing. The road hereabouts is often obliterated in the rice-fields and by the rains of many years. Sakrigali, marked as quite important on all the old maps, is another pass at the foot of a great bluff of the hills, where there are signs of ruins. Beyond is an old Mohamedan bridge now almost buried in the mud, which crosses the stream which comes over Motijharna Waterfall in the rains. Then comes Taljhari where the C.M.S. Mission have a church, and Mangal Hat with its great ruined mosque and fine old bridge. The ruins that follow illustrate the extensiveness of Rajmahal of old, now only a village. The only building of interest is the Singhi Dulan. The road beyond Rajmahal passes near the battlefields of Udwa Nala and Gheria.

The same writer also notes:—With reference to *Bengal Past & Present*, Vol. XI, page 255, an accidental error has been made in attributing the Showers monument (of 1815) to Giuseppi Bonomi the elder who died in 1808. It is the work of Joseph Bonomi the son of Giuseppi. Joseph Bonomi the younger was my mother's father, so perhaps I may be forgiven

for giving details of a family which was not altogether unconnected with India.

Giuseppi Bonomi (1739—1808) the Italian architect was asked by the celebrated brothers James and Robert Adam to go to England in 1797. He worked with them in London for many years. He married Rosa Florini, a cousin of the celebrated paintress, Angelica Kaufmann R. A. in 1775. He was elected an A. R. A. in 1789 (not 1790) and was a very intimate friend of Sir Joshua Reynolds. When the Academicians refused to elect Bonomi an R. A. (or, as Bryan has it, Professor of Perspective.) Sir Joshua resigned his Presidency, but was persuaded to resume it later.

Bonomi the elder had many children, though some died young. The survivors were :

(1) John James Bonomi, born 1782, entered the Army and went to India. Was Adjutant of the 5th Native Cavalry and was killed at the battle of Assaye, on the 23rd Sept. 1803. Mentioned in despatches by General Sir Arthur Wellesley.

(2) Ignatius Bonomi, (1787—1870) Architect to the County of Durham, married Charlotte Fielding.

(3) Charles Bonomi, (1789—1825) entered the Army and served in the Peninsular War as Assistant Commissary General, was severely wounded, I think at Corunna. Married in 1811 a Portuguese lady, Anna Rita de los Santos, having one son, the Rev. John Bonomi D. D. (1816—1872) Vicar General of Clifton.

(4) Joseph Bonomi, F. R. A. S., F. R. S. L. (1796—1878) the sculptor of the Showers monument in St. John's, Calcutta. Was educated at Carshalton and afterwards in the R. A. Schools and under Nollekens. In 1823 he went to Rome to study sculpture. In 1824 he went to Egypt with Robert Hay, and stayed there till 1834 excavating monuments, copying hieroglyphics and paintings. Much of his work of those years and later and also his work at Nineveh and Babylon is now in the British Museum. He penetrated into Nubia with Linant, and was the first European (in native dress) to enter the Holy Sepulchre, which he measured. In those days it was dangerous even to approach the Holy Sepulchre, but, being a dauntless traveller and a good linguist, he passed as a Mohamedan. He returned to Egypt with Lepsius in 1842 and stayed in that country till 1844. He had given up sculpture for egyptology and published and illustrated several books, and died Curator of Sir John Soane's Museum. He married Jessie, the daughter of John Martin the painter, in 1845. The Martins were intermarried with the Cunninghams and Colvins. Joseph Bonomi has three children living. (1) Lt. Col. Joseph Bonomi of the K. O. Royal Lancashire Regiment who served in the Zulu War, and in India, and volunteered in the S. A. War, and in the present War, and now commands a battalion; the span between him and his

uncle who was killed 112 years ago under Wellington is noteworthy. (2) A daughter, Cecilia, married the Baron de Cosson F. R. G. S., F. S. A., whose great-grandfather was guillotined in 1794, the latter's son escaped to England, entered the Hussards de Hompesch (now the 10th), and married in 1810, Ann Nash of Woodstock, Oxon.

The Rev. Father H. Hosten, S. J., writes :—A few days ago one of my friends lent me a copy of E. S. Wenger's *List of Tombs or Monuments in Bengal / of / historical or archaeological interest / 1895.* /

I am told that the compiler was Edward S. Wenger, and that the work was superseded by C. R. Wilson's *List of Inscriptions on tombs or monuments in Bengal possessing historical or archaeological interest*, Calcutta :—Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India, 1896.

Since Wenger's work remained unpublished and only a very few copies appear to have got into circulation, a description of the book will be of interest to the bibliophile. Though it has no indication of its provenance, I may say that the type is identical with that in C. R. Wilson's *List*; the size of the volume is about the same. It is 35.4 × 21.5 cm.

Contents : pp. 2 (unnumbered) : Table of Contents for the list of Tombs and Monuments of historical interest ; + p. 1 (unnumbered) : List of Plans and Rubbings to illustrate the List of Tombs and Monuments of historical interest ; + pp. 1—333 : List of Tombs or Monuments in Bengal possessing historical or archaeological interest ; + pp. I—XXXII : Index of Names of persons whose Tombs are considered as of historical interest.

Follow 6 Appendices.

Appendix A.—Monument in Westminster Abbey, London, to the memory of Admiral Watson. 1.

Appendix B.—Burials at Calcutta from 1713 to 1756 (from articles by the Rev. H. B. Hyde in the *Indian Church Quarterly Review.*) 1.

Appendix C.—List of distinguished personages who are known to have died or been buried at Calcutta. 2.

Appendix D.—List of Dutch Directors of Chinsura (from François Valentyn's *Oud en Nieuw Oost Indien*, Amsterdam, 1724, pp. 174-5.) 2.

Appendix E.—The Disused Cemeteries of Calcutta, by E. Walter Madge. 1-8.

Appendix F.—History of the Armenians in India, by Mesrobd J. Seth. 1-15.

Wenger's *List* contains 1060 entries against the 970 in C. R. Wilson's ; yet Wilson's *List* contains only pp. 249+XII+XVI.

Much space is lost in Wenger's list by the disposition of the materials under 8 columns, thus : 1. Serial Number ; 2. Name of cemetery, churchyard or church; 3. Where situated (give exact situation as far as possible); 4. District ; 5. Tomb or Monument to the memory of—; 6. Inscription on tomb or monument; 7. Inscriptions on slabs or pillars placed in church or chapel; 8. Remarks, [In this column enter tombs on roadsides or battlefields, and information as in columns 3, 4, 5. and 6.]

Instead of this, C. R. Wilson adopts only 5 Columns, thus : 1. serial number ; 2. year of death ; 3. Tomb or monument to the memory of—; 4. Inscription ; 5. Remarks. Wilson throws the other information into the titles of the different parts and the table of contents. Wilson's 5 columns divide the page breadthwise; Wenger's 8 columns cut the page lengthwise.

"The materials for this, the first collection of obituary and commemorative inscriptions published by the Government of Bengal," wrote C. R. Wilson in his preface, "were originally brought together by the Public Works Department, a special officer* being deputed for the work. The inscriptions thus collected were then given to me to edit. Following suggestions made by Sir Charles Elliott, I have recast the form of the lists and sifted and rearranged the materials."

There are some features in Wenger's list which I regret not to find in Wilson's, e.g., the translation of *all* inscriptions in languages other than English, i.e., not the Armenian and Greek ones only, but Latin, Portuguese, French, Dutch, and Danish ones.

The *List of Plans and Rubbings* at the beginning roused my hopes, but I was disappointed to find that only Nos. 6, 7, 9, 10, 11 and 20, i.e., rubbings of 6 inscriptions, were bound up with the book. It was something, however, to find that No. 9 was a rubbing of the inscription to the memory of Mrs. Sebastiana Shau, from the Murghihata Catholic Cathedral. And I had to be particularly grateful to the compiler for having inserted a rubbing of the inscription on Mrs. Reezabeebeh Sokeas' grave in the Armenian Churchyard, Calcutta. In *A Week at the Bandel Convent, Hugli (Bengal, Past & Present, 1915, vol. X, p. 86 n. 2.)* I expressed myself sceptical about the year 15 of the New Era of Julfa (1630 A. D.) As far as I can now judge, there can be no doubt about the 15. Even then, we may adopt C. R. Wilson's argument (*Early Annals of the English, I. 137 n. 3*) and say that nothing shows that the stone is *in situ*, as no other tombstone in the cemetery is of the 17th century; hence the existence of an Armenian colony in Calcutta at such an early date as 1630 is not proved. I shall remark that among the published inscriptions from the Armenian graveyard Reezabeebeh's is the only one to a woman. The ending *beebeh* in Reezabeebeh seems to represent the Hindustani *bibi*=lady.

* This special officer was Mr. E. S. Wenger who was Registrar of the Bengal Public Works Department.

We may ask ourselves what has become of all the plans which it was proposed to publish with Mr. Wenger's book. He could not well have published a list of plans and rubbings to be inserted in the book, unless these were ready. Why then were the rubbings alone included? Are not the *plans* now buried in some portfolio of the P. W. D.? In view of the interest which this list of plans and rubbings is bound to have for our Society and its journal, I republish it here.

	To face page	
1. Plan of Calcutta as in 1753	Ditto	1
2. Ditto 1784	Ditto	1
3. Plan of Calcutta showing the sites of the churches, cemeteries, &c., from which Inscriptions have been taken	Ditto	1
4. Plan of St. John's Churchyard, Calcutta	Ditto	17
5. Plan of the Charnock Mausoleum, Calcutta	Ditto	17
6.* Rubbing of the inscription to the memory of Mr. Job Charnock as in the Charnock Mausoleum, Calcutta	Ditto	17
7. Rubbing of the inscription to the memory of Surgeon William Hamilton as in the Charnock Mausoleum, Calcutta	Ditto	19
8. Plan of the Rohilla Cenotaph in St. John's Churchyard, Calcutta	Ditto	31
9. Rubbing of the inscription to the memory of Mrs. Sebastiana Shau as in the Roman Catholic Cathedral, Calcutta	Ditto	64
10. Rubbing of the inscription to the memory of Mrs. Reezabeebeh Sookeas as in the Armenian Churchyard, Calcutta	Ditto	94
11. Rubbing of the inscription to the memory of Mr. A. Argeery as in the Greek Churchyard, Calcutta	Ditto	114
12. Plan of the Gwalior Monument, Fort Point, Calcutta	Ditto	118
13. Plan of the late Black Hole Monument, Calcutta	Ditto	125
14. Plan of the South Park Street Cemetery, Calcutta, showing the sites of the tombs, the inscriptions on which are in this list	Ditto	126
15. Plan of the tomb of Sir W. Jones in the South Park Cemetery, Calcutta	Ditto	137
16. Plan of the tomb of the Hon'ble Rose Aylmer in above cemetery	Ditto	141
17. Plan of the North Park Cemetery, Calcutta, showing the sites of the tombs, the inscriptions on which are in this list	Ditto	169
18. Plan of the Mission Cemetery, Calcutta, included with the above	Ditto	169

19. Plan of the Lower Circular Road Cemetery, Calcutta, showing the sites of the tombs, the inscriptions on which are in this list	To face page	185
20. Rubbing of the inscription to the memory of Khojah Johanness Margar as in the Armenian Churchyard, Chinsurah	Ditto	206
21. Plan of the Cenotaph at Barrackpore to the memory of Capt. N. P. Grant	Ditto	259
22. Plan of the Cenotaph at Barrackpore to the memory of the brave	Ditto	260
23. Plan of the Monument at Dum Dum	Ditto	266
24. Plan of the tomb of Colombo Saheb at Dacca	Ditto	284
25. Plan of the Black Hole Monument at Patna	Ditto	296
26. Plan of the Soldiers' Tomb at Arrah	Ditto	309
27. Plan of the tomb of a Dutch Governor at Chapra	Ditto	.316

Much as I appreciated C. R. Wilson's compilation, I fear I shall make less of it, now that I have made the acquaintance of E. S. Wenger's. I wish only I had a copy of my own.

I open the book almost at random and find that it has two inscriptions interesting the Church of Baithakhana which are omitted in my *The Registers and Inscriptions of the Church of Our Lady of Dolours, Baithakhana, Calcutta (1810-1914)*, 1915.

I take this opportunity to rectify the omission. The following must be or must have been in the Church compound:—Sacred to the Memory of Mr. Antoine O'Brian Perie, Shipwright, who departed this life on the 9th August 1840. Aged 75 years.

Also Mrs. Catherine Perie, who departed this life on the 17th December 1853. Aged 104 years.

This stone is placed as a mark of affection by their grand-daughter Mrs. M. C. Stout. [Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 89, No. 189.]

The other inscription is on a tablet above the gate of the Portuguese Cemetery of Surah:—

Este Cemeterio pertence a l'igreja de Nossa Senhora das Dores de Boytakhanah daqual he Fundadora Padroeira a senhora Gracia Izabel ferro¹ em Junho de 1810.

(Translation): This Cemetery belongs to the Church of Our Lady of Dolours of Boytakhanah of which Senhora Gracia Izabel is the Founder and Patron, opened in June 1810.

¹ I find it so in Wenger's List, p. 132, No. 533.—This inscription in C. R. Wilson's List is shifted under St. John's Roman Catholic Cemetery, together with one from the Cemetery for the R. C. Church of the S. Heart of Jesus, Calcutta. Cf. p. 107.

One Hundred and Forty-Five years at the Old or Mission Church, Calcutta.

CHAPTER I.

FOUNDATION STONES.

KIERNANDER, THE PIONEER MISSIONARY OF BENGAL.—AS S.P.C.K.
MISSIONARY AT CUDDALORE—ARRIVAL IN CALCUTTA—HIS
MISSION TO THE PORTUGUESE AND INDIANS—FOUNDS
THE OLD OR MISSION CHURCH—HIS MINISTRY
THERE—DISPOSES OF THE CHURCH TO MR.
CHARLES GRANT—HIS CLOSING DAYS.

THE Rev. John ZACHARIAS KIERNANDER was the first Protestant Missionary to come to Bengal. He was born in Sweden on December 1st 1710,* and was educated at the University of Halle. He was accepted as a Missionary of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and arrived at Madras in August 1740, and took charge of the Society's Mission at Cuddalore, working there until May 4th 1758, when the town was captured by the French under Count Lally. In the siege the Mission was destroyed, and the surrender of the place to the French crushed the hopes of Kiernander as to further efforts there.

But all unknown to him, the way was already being prepared for his coming to Bengal. In 1756 the English Settlement of Calcutta, which then centred round Tank Square (now called Dalhousie Square), had been completely wrecked by Suraj-ud-dowlah, the Mohamedan Prince of Murshidabad. The majority of the Europeans had fled. Those who remained were

* Three dates are given for Kiernander's birth!

1. Major Moir in *Bengal Past & Present* Vol. VI, p. 4, says that Kiernander was born at Akstad in Sweden on November 21st, 1711.
2. In the Mission cemetery, the slab put up by Kiernander's great grandson records that he died December 29th 1799, aged 88 years 1 month and 18 days. This would give the date of his birth as November 11th 1711.
3. On the other hand we have the inscription on the Nürnberg engraving of his portrait, in which the date is given as December 1st 1710; and this is much the most likely to be true.

captured in the Old Fort, and were shut up one June afternoon in the small room or prison, since known as the Black Hole, close to the present General Post Office. Of 146 persons confined in that room, 123 perished of suffocation during the night under circumstances of unparalleled horror. To avenge this catastrophe, Colonel Robert Clive came up from Madras, and in the same month of June in the following year, 1757, his victory at Plassey established the English power in Bengal. After that, Clive came down to the ruined settlement of Calcutta, and laid the foundation of a newer and stronger Fort William on the maidan. While Clive was busily engaged in this work, news reached him of the disaster at Cuddalore, and he is said to have invited Kiernander to come up north and found a Mission here, evidently regarding a Mission as a sure means of pacification of the country. It is but fair to say, however, that the S.P.C.K. report merely says:— “Mr. Kiernander, perceiving no likelihood that Cuddalore would be restored to the English, and the people of Bengal having long been desirous of a Missionary, set sail for that place.” By “the people of Bengal,” we must probably understand certain people who came under the influence of Schwartz in South India, and who had been transferred to Bengal.

The first English Church in Calcutta, St. Anne’s, situated in the Old Fort, had been totally destroyed in the Mohomedan invasion. There was therefore no Protestant Church in Calcutta at this time, and the two Presidency chaplains, the Rev: Henry Butler and the Rev: John Cape, conducted the English services in the Roman Church at Murghihatta, which had not as yet been restored to the Portuguese, some of the Priests being suspected of intriguing with the Mohamedans and the French.

“The state of things which Kiernander found on arrival in this city, was therefore calculated to excite both fear and hope. When he landed, he must have walked amid ruins, which admonished him of the danger in which he and every other European momentarily stood; but he must also have watched the rising walls of new buildings, inspiring hope and enterprise for the future. It was in such circumstances that Kiernander, with no small intrepidity, began his mission in Calcutta.” (From a sermon in the Old Church by the Rev. A. Clifford, afterwards Bishop of Lucknow).

He arrived on September 29th 1758, and was received with marked favour by Lord Clive and members of the Bengal Board. A house was assigned to him rent free; and a subscription was raised for his proposed school by the Rev: Henry Butler and Rev: John Cape, who shewed him much sympathy.

In November of the same year, Colonel and Mrs. Clive, and Mr. William Watts, a member of Council, stood as sponsors at the baptism of Kiernander’s son, who was named Robert William, after each of his distinguished god-parents.

On December 1st Kiernander opened a school in the Murghihatta quarter, to which both European and Indian boys were allowed to come. Thus early did Kiernander open the door of European education to the youth of India. Within the 1st year his school contained 174 pupils. The work of his mission grew and prospered. Sunday services were held in a room lent by Government, and several converts were made. In the 1st year he had 15 converts, among them a Brahman, the first Brahman convert in Bengal. He preached in German, Portuguese, and English to the Europeans, and to the Natives in the vernacular. His efforts, though confined to Calcutta, were cosmopolitan. He preached to all sorts and conditions of men. "His converts were mainly from the degraded mass of Portuguese Romanism, settled on the outskirts of that growing city. These conversions brought a hornets' nest of papal priests about the Protestant Missionary's head ; but undaunted, he retaliated by converting some of the Priests themselves to the religion of the Reformation, and enlisted them as auxiliaries in the work of the Mission." (Hough).

He assisted the Chaplains from time to time in their services for Europeans in Murghihatta. By the end of 1760, he had 231 scholars in his schools, and 61 communicants at his services.

In 1761 a terrible epidemic of cholera broke out, which claimed, amongst other victims, Kiernander's first wife Wendela, and his friends, the two English Chaplains. He himself narrowly escaped death, having no less than six relapses ; but he recovered. Thus Kiernander was left alone for a short time to minister to the English community in Calcutta, in addition to his other duties. It has been asserted that Mrs. Wendela Kiernander was buried in the Mission cemetery on the north side of Park Street, and that Kiernander lies in his coffin in the vault between his two wives. But if so, that cemetery must be earlier than the Government cemeteries in the same locality. I can, however, find nothing to show that she was buried there, or that the Mission Cemetery was bought *before* the Mission Church was built in 1769. It is much more probable that she was buried near Charnock's tomb in the Old Cemetery, which existed long before St. John's Church was built there.

On February 10th 1762, Kiernander was married, in the chape! room at the Fort, to his second wife, Mrs. Ann Wolley. She is generally represented as a wealthy widow, to whose soft glances the good *padre* fell a victim, so that he succumbed to "the silken embraces of opulent beauty", (*Asiaticus*). But perhaps this may be as much a libel on her, as it was undoubtedly a libel that credited him with driving about Calcutta in a carriage drawn by four horses. The latter story seems to have emanated from his playfully calling his palanquin and four bearers "my coach and four." Kiernander

was undoubtedly regarded after his marriage with Mrs. Wolley as one of the wealthiest men in Calcutta.

In 1763 an "insurrection" occurred which threatened to sweep away the English power. But still Kiernander held on bravely, and his mission grew and prospered. The Collector's Office was lent to him for School and Church, from 1763 to 1767. He was able to report to the S.P.C.K. that from the commencement of his Mission on Dec. 1st 1758 up to the end of the year 1766, he had made 189 converts, of whom one half were Romanists, one third the children of Romanist parents, and 30 were heathens.

In 1767 Kiernander conceived the idea of building a permanent Church. A site was purchased, and in the month of May he laid the foundation of the Mission Church, which he called "Beth Tephillah" (Hebrew for House of Prayer). It was completed 3½ years afterwards, and was dedicated on the 4th Sunday in Advent December 1770,—that is, 17 years before St. John's Church. The building cost 68,000 rupees, the expense being greater than at first estimated, owing to an alteration in the size of the building after it was commenced. Kiernander was personally responsible for nearly the whole of this sum, as the S. P. C. K. were unable to do more than provide Mr. Kiernander's salary, which amounted to the extremely modest sum of £ 50 per annum; and only Rupees 1,818 were given to him by friends for the building of his Church.

"It is no small thing that he, mainly at his own expense, erected a Church where no Church was, and thus restored to the English inhabitants of the chief city of British India the long-forfeited privilege of worshipping God in a public place consecrated to His Service. Calcutta was without a Protestant Church, and without a Protestant Church it would have remained many years longer, if Kiernander had not thought of erecting one for missionary purposes at his own expense. He had calculated that it would cost £2,000, but with the usual uncertainty attending affairs of bricks and mortar, it cost much more. It was three years in course of erection, and it is worthy of mention that Kiernander would never allow the heathen workmen to prosecute their work on the Christian Sabbath,—a refinement little understood in India at that time," or alas, even at the present time. Kiernander says—"I always paid them for seven days, though they worked only six; and I observed they did more in the six days by having the seventh to rest. When their festivals too did not fall on a Sunday, they would not mind the lesser ones at all, but continued their work as usual. From whence," he adds, "I judge it not impracticable to bring the stranger within our gates to a nearer conformity to the commandment."

The architect of the Church, a Dane, Bontout de Melvill by name, died before the work was completed, and this may account for the fact that when

the Church "loomed out in its full proportions, it was at best an unsightly edifice, somewhat uncouth in form and glaring in colour. Its colour was red, for the front was faced with slabs of red cement, pointed with white between the slabs. It was opened for service on December 23, 1770, and thus, after a lapse of 14 years, Calcutta once more beheld an English Church, completed at the expense of a stranger, the former Old Church having been destroyed by the barbarians in 1756."

The original church, as Kiernander built it, appears to have been an oblong building extending from the West door to the beginning of the semi-circular chancel in the East. That chancel was, as we shall see presently, a later addition. "For 17 years Kiernander ministered here with no small success, witnessing for God and the Mission cause, amid a generation of nominal Christians, the worldliness and licentiousness of whose lives must have caused the most serious scandal."

The reason for the long delay of 3½ years in building the Church appears to have been that Kiernander had his hands full in another direction. For at this time he lived in his Garden house, which was soon to form the Central Block of the Presidency General Hospital. On April 25th 1768 the Council decided to buy this house (with additions) for a sum of Rs. 98,900 Arcot rupees for the purpose of a hospital, and Kiernander undertook to supervise the building of East and West blocks. Apparently the contractors failed to supply him with *chunam*, and accordingly he had to take material supplied for the Church. The Hospital was completed and inhabited by sick people from April 2nd 1770, after which he was able to push on with the building of the Church.

Here it may not be out of place to add a few words as to the immediate surroundings of the Church when it was built. It was flanked on either side by buildings which do not seem to have undergone very great alteration. The house on the south (now No. 9 Mission Row, and occupied by Messrs. Carritt Moran & Co.) was the property of Baboo Ram Soonder Seal. It was rather smaller than it is now, and had a verandah overlooking Mission Row, the arches of which have been filled in, and there was a wooden porch over the door. Next door to that, stood the house which still exists as No. 8 Mission Row, now occupied by Messrs. Thomas' New Mart. The Old Charity School (now the Free School) was domiciled here for a while, after it left its original home in the Council House, on the site of St. Andrew's Kirk. It was in this same house that General Clavering, the Commander-in-Chief lived for a time with his family, and it was here he died. And here Lady Clavering, assisted by her two elegant daughters, "entertained the rank and beauty of the settlement with the decorum and extravagance becoming their rank."

Immediately in front of the Church, where Messrs. Watson & Co's four storied offices now stand, there was an unobstructed view right across Tank Square. A part of this open space was enclosed as the garden of the house where General Monson lived during 1772-6. The house was on the north of the compound and, enlarged, is that now occupied by Messrs. Smith Stanistreet and Co. It may be seen in the picture by W. Baillie given in *Bengal Past and Present* Vol. V. p. 232. A portion of the Church compound, on which the C.M.S. Secretary's house No. 10 Mission Row now stands, was then the property of Mr. Charles Weston, the gentleman whose portrait is to be seen, with a voluminous handkerchief on his head, in St. John's Vestry room.

Behind the Church compound, and actually touching the walls of the Parsonage, were single storied godowns, which were burnt down in 1906, and replaced by the great high godowns of Messrs. Ralli Brothers. On the front portion of this, on Lal Bazar, there stood a house, No. 8 Lal Bazar St., which was undoubtedly the old Theatre of those days. When it was being demolished, the stage and side rooms could clearly be distinguished. A picture of this building is in *Bengal Past and Present* Vol. II p. 95. Beyond this again, was the Old Jail and Mint, while on the opposite (north) side of Lal Bazar, on the site now occupied by the Police headquarters, were the famous taverns and fashionable tea gardens of old Calcutta.

It is curious, too, to think that Slavery was at that time quite common amongst Europeans in India. A writer records that Mrs. Kiernander had two slave girls, who were "bound to their mistress by the bonds of affection as well as of service." One of Kiernander's Portuguese Catechists bequeathed to him a slave named Rebekah. It was quite the usual thing in making a will to bequeath slaves to one's friends. St. John's Church burial records shew that Mrs. Kiernander's slave Clarinda was buried on Nov. 30, 1765. It was quite common to have slave boys as torch bearers or table servants. Most, if not all the servants were slaves.

In 1771 Captain John Griffin died, leaving the residue of his estate to the Mission Church, of which the S. P. C. K. and the Director of the Orphan House at Halle were to be joint executors. But there is nothing to show that anything was ever realized !

In June 1773 Kiernander lost his second wife, Mrs. Ann Kiernander. She was buried in the Mission cemetery, and her tomb is the earliest monument in that cemetery. She left her jewels to be sold for the benefit of the Mission ; and with the proceeds of their sale, the School room behind the Church was built in 1774. This room is still used as the parish room. The tablet to her memory in the cemetery is as follows :—



In Memory of
 MRS. ANN KIERNANDER
 dearly beloved wife of
 The Reverend

Mr. JOHN ZACHARIAH KIERNANDER

first Protestant Missionary to Bengal,
 whom,

from a life in which she practised every virtue
 that adorns the character of
 a Christian,

it pleased Almighty God to take unto Himself
 June 9th A.D. 1773 in her age of 43 years & 2 months.
 She departed with an entire though humble confidence
 of a happy futurity

through the merits of Jesus Christ her Redeemer,
 having for sometime desirously waited for the hour of her
 dissolution

with that serenity of mind
 which a good conscience alone can inspire.

Her lamenting husband,
 as a testimony of sincere and affectionate regard
 which she deserved when living
 and which he still retains for her memory,
 caused this tablet to be erected.



Among the adherents whom Kiernander gained to his Mission were no less than five Roman priests, two of whom, Padre Castor Bento de Souza and Padre Marcellino Joseph Ramalhete, assisted him for some years in both Church and School. The former was received into the English Church in 1770 and the latter in 1772.

In 1775 the S.P.C.K. sent out a colleague to Mr. Kiernander in the person of the Rev: John Christman Diemer, who had also been educated at the University of Halle. The assistance of Mr. Diemer was most welcome to Kiernander and serviceable to the cause. Every year saw a considerable increase to the number of converts. The number of scholars in the Mission schools increased. These schools were erected and supported mainly, if not entirely, at Kiernander's own expense.

In 1775 Kiernander built almhouses for old women, but it does not appear where these were situated or what became of them.

In 1776 he built a wall round the Mission cemetery for its protection.

In the spring of 1776 an incident took place which is of some considerable interest in view of the future history of the Mission Church. Charles Grant, then Secretary to the Board of Trade, lost his two eldest children from small-pox, and was deeply impressed by this sad event, which he regarded as a punishment for his own worldly and careless life. He applied to Kiernander for advice upon the all important question "what must I do to be saved?" and Dr. Smith in his *Conversion of India* quotes Grant's quizzical description of the interview. Grant says:—"I found him lying on a couch. My anxious enquiries as to what I should do to be saved, appeared to embarrass and confuse him exceedingly: and when I left him, the perspiration was running down his face, in consequence, as it appeared to me of his mental distress. He could not answer my question, but gave me some good instructive books." Kiernander may not have been able to satisfy Grant's particular state of mind on the spur of the moment; but he seems at least to have taken considerable interest in his case, and very wisely recommended him to Mr. Diemer, with whom Grant spent ten days in retirement and in being instructed in the Faith. Two friends were also helpful to Grant at this time, John Shore and William Chambers. Grant from this time forward became a sincere and earnest Christian.

In 1777 Warren Hastings married the beautiful Mrs. Imhoff.

In 1781 James Augustus Hicky published in his paper the *Bengal Gazette* a libel against Mr. Kiernander, to the effect that he was trying to sell his church to the Government. A letter from Kiernander to Warren Hastings is given in *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. III, p. 61; which letter drew a reply from the Government absolutely denying the charge.

In 1783 Mr. Diemer left Calcutta, but he must have returned again; for he died in Calcutta in 1792 and lies buried in the South Park Street cemetery, under a huge obelisk, close to the entrance gate, on the right.

In 1784 the following benefactions were given:—

Rs. 1,000 from the Rev. J. Z. Kiernander.

Rs. 3,000 from his son Robert.

and Rs. 500 from the Rev. Westrowe Hulse, Chaplain to the Commander-in-Chief. Sir Robert Chambers, the Chief Justice, and Lady Coote, wife of Sir Eyre Coote, Commander-in-Chief, attended services at the Old Church, at least occasionally, if not regularly.

But before the close of Warren Hastings' administration, sorrow fell on Kiernander and the Protestant Mission. For in 1787 an event occurred which nearly put an end to the History of the Mission Church, as a House of Prayer. Kiernander had stood surety for a mortgage deed executed by his son Robert, the godson of Robert Clive; and through the failure of some

building operations in which his son was engaged, the father was called upon to fulfil his suretyship. The creditors became importunate and looked to his property, no matter of what kind, for the discharge of their claims. Kiernander, probably owing to his extreme liberality, had not the ready cash to meet their demands, and the whole of his property was attached. "The seal of the Sheriff of Calcutta was clapped even on the Sanctuary. The Magistrate must obey the Law, of which he is only the servant ; doubtless that officer with trembling hand closed the gates of Beth Tephillah. One person immediately came forward and restored the Church to religion. He paid for it the sum it was appraised at, 10,000 Rupees. Yes, one person stepped forward and saved the temple, where the hymns of truth had been chanted for 17 years, from being profaned for any secular purpose. The property of the Church was transferred on the last day of October 1787 to three Trustees—the Revd: David Brown, Mr. William Chambers, and Mr. Charles Grant." (from *Historical and Ecclesiastical Sketches respecting Bengal*, by a military writer, Calcutta.)

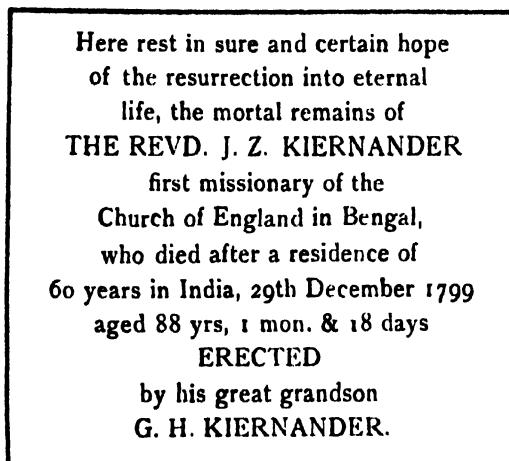
The price, 10,000 Rupees seems moderate enough, as Mr. Kiernander had spent quite 70,000 Rupees upon it.

The S. P. C. K. Reports merely state that the Revd. Mr. Kiernander of the Calcutta Mission had been obliged from age and infirmities to relinquish the service of the Mission, and to transfer the property of the Mission Church, School and Burying Ground to the Revd. Mr. David Brown, Mr. William Chambers and Mr. Charles Grant.

Kiernander's closing days present a pathetic picture. In 1778 he had cataract ; and in 1782 both eyes were operated on with some success, as he expressed "his happiness in once more being enabled to see the prosperity of the Mission." But with approaching old age his eyesight failed. When he was declared bankrupt in 1787, he retired to Chinsurah. His riches had taken to themselves wings and fled away. Cut off by physical weakness from continuing in his beloved Mission work, he had now to stand aside and see others carry on the work which he had begun. He lived on several years after this. He was present at the opening of the New Chancel on December 29, 1793 on which occasion he administered the sacrament, and expressed himself happy to see the Church so much improved and increased in attendance. His pathetic figure touched many hearts on that occasion, and Mr. Brown in writing to the S.P.C.K. mentioned his presence at the Church on that day, and added—"I cannot but lament his destitution in the 84th year of his age."—as a result of which the Society sent £40 to Mr. Kiernander.

At Chinsurah, he acted as Chaplain to the Dutch Settlement there, from 1787 to 1795, when he returned to Calcutta. He died in 1799 at the advanced

age of 88, and was buried in the Kiernander Vault in the Mission Cemetery, where a tablet, raised many years later by his great, grandson, marks his resting place. It bears the following inscription :—



I have already remarked upon the apparent error here in the date of his birth, and consequently of his age also, although so explicitly given. This tablet was not put up till nearly a century after his death.

In faith and doctrine Kiernander was a strong Lutheran. The Evangelical doctrines of the Reformation were thus from the first earnestly proclaimed from the pulpit of the Old Mission Church.

A portrait of him was painted in 1773 by C. A. C. von Imhoff, who must be the celebrated "Baron" Christof Adam Carl von Imhoff, whose wife afterwards became celebrated as the second wife of Warren Hastings. The original painting was among the family portraits until some 25 years ago, but it was destroyed through the carelessness of his great-grand-children in their play. Had the picture survived, it would have been worthy of a place in the collection for the Victoria Memorial as a relic of old Calcutta. An engraving made at Nürnberg in 1776 from the original painting has been for many years in the Old Church Room, a reproduction of it is given on the frontispiece.

The inscription below the picture is worth careful noting, for it was probably written by Kiernander himself for this very engraving. It may be translated from the German as follows :—

Johann Zacharias Kiernander,
born in Sweden on 1st December 1710, Went
in 1739 as English Missionary to Cuddalore, Founded
in 1758 the Mission in Bengal, and built for the same

out of his own money a Church which he called
Beth Tepfillach.

"Not to thy wintry Sweden, No,
Thou must and wilt
To Ganges as God's herald go."

"Painted by C. A. C. von Imhoff, 1773 in Caloutta in the kingdom of
Bengal, engraved by J. S. Walwer 1776 in Nürnberg."

CHAPTER II.

A WISE MASTER BUILDER.

THE PATRIARCH DAVID BROWN AND HIS COLLEAGUES.

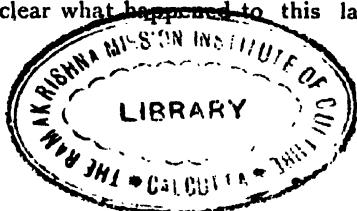
THE REV'D. DAVID BROWN—HIS ARRIVAL AS CHAPLAIN—HIS CONNECTION WITH THE OLD MISSION CHURCH—HIS PLANS FOR A CHURCH MISSION TO BENGAL, GIVE RISE TO THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY—REV : DR. CLAUDIUS BUCHANAN —EVANGELICAL TRUST FORMED—ARRIVAL OF THE REV. HENRY MARTYN AND REV: DANIEL CORRIE—GROWTH OF THE EVANGELICAL FUND—DEATH OF BROWN.

After Kiernander, the Rev. DAVID BROWN was the next "Father" of the Old Mission Church. He was born in Yorkshire, and was admitted as a Scholar at Magdalen College Cambridge in November 1782. When Brown went to Cambridge, a young Evangelical clergyman, the Rev. Charles Simeon, was just commencing his ministry at Holy Trinity Church amid a storm of unreasoning opposition from the parishioners. With him Brown formed a link of friendship, which afterwards drew forth Simeon's active sympathy and life-long interest in the Mission Church at Calcutta. Brown entertained some idea of accepting a curacy under Mr. Simeon; but on taking his degree, he accepted the offer of a chaplaincy in India.

Accordingly he sailed from England with his wife on November 15, 1785; and arrived in Calcutta on June 8th 1786. Within a month of his landing on the shores of India, Brown conceived the idea of a Church Mission for India, and with his usual alacrity he at once set to work to put his plan into action. From Mr. Grant's *Journal* we learn that Brown had a conversation with Grant, Chambers and Obeck upon this topic on the 9th of July. A note in Brown's own diary says—"Began my efforts for a Mission about this time, July 10. 1786." We shall see presently what great fruit sprang from this small beginning.

Soon after his arrival, Mr. Brown was appointed to the charge of the Military Orphan Institution, which was at that time in Howrah, in the very house that now forms the Court house, opposite the Howrah Town Hall.

In September 1787 he bought a piece of ground near by the Orphan House for a native school, which he purposely secured near at hand so that he could personally supervise it. It is not clear what happened to this land afterwards.



We have already seen how on October 31, 1787 the Mission Church of Kiernander had been bought by Grant, and the Old Church Trust formed, of which Brown was a member. In June of this year, St. John's Church had been opened, its foundation having been laid with great public ceremony on April 6, 1784 by Warren Hastings. St. John's was commonly spoken of as the New Church, in contradistinction to the Mission Church, which from this time began to be called the Old Church. From the time that Brown became a trustee of the Old Church, the conduct of the services fell to him, and for a period extending over 25 years he was mainly responsible for the well-being of the Church. "When the Mission Church devolved to his care, as the Beth Tiphla of the aged Zacharias Kiernander, it was in a very different style from that in which the community now view it. It has become one of the ornaments of a "City of Palaces." But in 1787 it was a clumsy unplastered brick edifice, of small dimensions, and choked up with old houses, and, from being of reddish colour, had the appellation given to it by the natives of "the Red Church" (Lal Greja); as which it continued still best known among them, according to their retentive customs, even after its walls were made light stone colour. Within, it was exceedingly uncouth, with a brick pulpit built against a wall, and its aisle rough uncovered tiling. A few rude benches and pews of unpainted plank formed the general seats, with a small number of chairs for the gentry; and it was calculated to accommodate about 200 persons. It was indeed most comfortless, and was pronounced by the then society of Calcutta to be utterly unsuitable for the reception of an European congregation. Yet it was strongly built of good masonry and lofty; and appeared worthy of being made more attractive to a much larger assembly." (From Brown's *Memoirs*).

The outward appearance of the Church at this time may be well seen from the old painting by Daniels in 1787, reproduced here:—

Wednesday Evening services were commenced in 1787; also a *Vestry Library* which was afterwards discontinued

About this time Brown, Grant and Udny met together to consult more definitely about a Church Mission "for Bengal and Bahar," and Brown drafted a scheme which he sent home "to Revs. N. and S." (evidently meaning John Newton and Charles Simeon), and also to William Wilberforce, and to various dignitaries of the Church at home, including the Archbishops. To Mr. Simeon, Brown wrote,—"From the enclosed papers you will learn the project of a Mission to the East Indies. We understand such matters lie very near to your heart, and that you have a warm zeal to promote their interest. Upon this ground, we take the liberty to invite you to become agent on behalf of the intended Mission at home. We humbly hope you will accept our proposal, and immediately commence a correspondence with us,

stating from time to time the progress of our application." On the back of this document (which is now at Ridley Hall, Cambridge) Mr. Simeon wrote in 1830:—"It merely shows how early God enabled me to act for India; to provide for which has now for forty two years been a principal and incessant object of my care and labour."

The subject of Missions was thereafter brought before the Eclectic Society, and aroused considerable discussion and interest. This scheme may truly be regarded as the seed from which the Church Missionary Society sprang into existence; though it took a few more years before the germination of the seed became visible, for the meeting at which the C.M.S. was actually inaugurated in London at the Castle and Falcon, was not held until 12th the April 1799.

Simeon's biographer, the Rev. William Carus, writing in 1846, says: "This project of a Mission to India led to Mr. Simeon's consideration of the subject upon a still more extensive scale: and gave rise to those important discussions on 'the education of Missionaries,' and 'the propriety and mode of attempting a Mission to the heathen from the Established Church,' which issued in the formation of the Church Missionary Society."

This fact is also admitted by the Rev. Henry Venn, the greatest of C.M.S. Secretaries; while Kaye in his *Christianity in India* says:—"Out of this correspondence between the little handful of Christians in Calcutta and their friends in London and Cambridge, ere many years had passed, grew that great fact, the Church Missionary Society."

To this agrees Mr. Henry Morris in his life of Charles Grant, though he makes the mistake of attributing the scheme to Grant, rather than to Brown. Mr. Morris certainly gives ample proof that Grant had the subject of missionary work in India very much in his heart some time *before* Brown arrived in the country, and that he was consulted by Wesley's friend, Dr. Coke as to the formation of the Wesleyan Missionary Society. But Grant's point of view was that a Missionary Society should be undenominational, as it was work in which all Christian bodies should unite; whereas Brown's suggestion was to form a Missionary Society definitely connected with the Established Church; in fact, a Church Missionary Society to Bengal. In the discussions that followed during the next few years in England, Grant himself took no doubt a leading part, as did Dr. Buchanan, who, as we shall see, was also closely associated with the Old Mission Church.

The Old Mission Church, Calcutta, may, therefore, be regarded as the true birthplace of the Church Missionary Society, and the Rev. D. Brown as the true father of it, though when the Society was finally launched, its object was enlarged, and it was sent forth under the name of the Society for Missions to Africa and the East; and 13 years later it changed its name to the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East.

From the time of Brown's first association with the Mission Church he took so keen and deep an interest in it, that some people thought he must be neglecting his proper duties as Chaplain to the Orphan Institution. When he was peremptorily told that he must choose between the two, he preferred to be faithful to the ministration of the Church, and he was accordingly "dispossessed of the Orphan House."

His plan for a Church Mission he laid before the Governor-General, Lord Cornwallis, who, though not caring to give it direct support, promised not to oppose it.

In August 1788 Brown opened a private school for young gentlemen; among his pupils were Mr. Grant's two sons, Charles and Robert, both of whom afterwards became distinguished men. Charles became Lord Glenelg, Robert was knighted and was Governor of Bombay. Robert also was the author of at least two well-known hymns. "O worship the King, all glorious above," and "Saviour, when in dust to Thee."

In September 1788 the S.P.C.K. sent out the Rev. A. T. Clark to the Old Mission Church, but he left abruptly about a year later, having sought and obtained a Chaplaincy. Thereupon Brown again took charge of the Church, thus deserted by its Missionary, and was much helped by the Rev. John Owen, Chaplain of St. John's, or the New Church.

The Old Mission Church continued through God's goodness to prosper, and the congregation so increased that it was thought needful to enlarge it. Brown had been collecting money for this object, and "encouraged by the fine taste and scientific ability of his respected friend, Mr. William Chambers, he determined to improve and enlarge the building." Accordingly the semi-circular chancel was built at the east end, and was opened as already mentioned on December 29, 1793. Probably to this time belong sundry other improvements to the interior, and also the rooms above the old school house were added about this time for the accommodation of the clergy officiating at the Church. Mr. Chambers did not live to see his new chancel opened, for he died in August 1793. Mr. Grant by this time had left India, though he continued to support the work of the Old Church at home for many years.

In 1794 Brown was appointed by Lord Teignmouth to St. John's Church. The following description of church-going in 1796 is interesting: "The courtyard and adjoining streets are now regularly thronged with palanquins and equipages of the congregation, where before scarcely half a dozen had usually appeared." Brown, however, still continued his gratuitous ministrations at the Old Church. His Sunday duties were onerous, for he officiated twice every Sunday at the Old Mission Church, once in the New (St. John's) and once in the garrison in the Fort. The congregation at the Mission Church was an increasing one, both in numbers and respectability of rank. From the first indeed his ministry had been honoured by the attendance of a

few gentlemen of the highest station in the service, among whom were Mr. Charles Grant, then member of the Board of Trade, since the able and respected Chairman of the Court of Directors; his brother-in-law Mr. William Chambers, protonotary and master in Chancery, brother to Sir Robert Chambers, Chief Justice of Bengal: and Mr. Udney who filled the Chair of the Supreme Government."

Grant's friend, John Shore, was appointed Governor-General as Lord Teignmouth; and both Lord and Lady Teignmouth attended the Old Church, together with other members of their family.

In 1797 the S. P. C. K. sent the Rev. Mr. Ringeltaube to the Old Church, but he too left in about a year's time, complaining that the allowance of £50 a year given by the S. P. C. K. was insufficient for a man to live upon. The S. P. C. K. promptly wrote out increasing his allowance, but Mr. Ringeltaube had already left Calcutta before he could possibly have received any reply from England. Mr. Brown again came to the rescue, and took charge of the Church thus deserted for the second time by its Missionary. From 1798 Mr. Brown had the valuable assistance of Dr. Claudius Buchanan, and for several years they shared together the work of the Mission Church.

CLAUDIUS BUCHANAN was born in Scotland on 12 March 1766. As a lad he ran away from home, and with the help of a fiddle he tried to pick up a living till he got employment as a clerk. In London he went to hear Mr. Newton preach at St. Mary's Woolnooth, was there converted, and became an intimate friend of Newton. Newton himself was a remarkable character; he had been a wild sailor, had been a blaspheming slave driver on the African Coast, had been converted in a marvellous way, and became a clergyman and a remarkable preacher and hymn writer. Buchanan, with the help of Mr. Thornton, a banker, went to Queen's College Cambridge, where he distinguished himself: he became a Fellow of his college, and was offered a chaplaincy in India.

He arrived in India on the 10th of March 1797. On his arrival he was hospitably received by Mr. Brown, and resided for a short time in his family. He then took a house in Dhurrumtolla where he continued but two months, being appointed chaplain at Barrackpore, a military station about 16 miles North of Calcutta. Barrackpore, however, possessed no church for public worship, and divine service was never so much as required by the Military Staff to which he was attached! The chaplain could hold no service without an order from the Commanding Officer; and as this order was withheld, Mr. Buchanan could hold no services at all at Barrackpore!

On June 9, 1797 Buchanan wrote to Brown (who had suggested giving up his week-day lectures), "how do you know that your Thursday evening lecture is not the most useful part of all your ministrations?"

At this time there was living in the house adjoining the Church (now No. 11) a remarkable man who is referred to as "The Apostolic Obeck." He was formerly steward in Mr. Grant's family. Buchanan says of him, "the ancient Obeck in Calcutta is like Lot in Sodom. I asked him one day if he could produce ten righteous to save the city. He said he was not sure he could produce ten, but he thought he could find five." He seems to have had a wonderful spiritual influence in the place.

Service in the Hospital is referred to by Mr. Buchanan. Mr. Buchanan was married on April 3rd, 1799 to Miss Mary Whish of Barrackpore; her sister Charlotte was wife to Colonel Sandys. As he could take no services at Barrackpur, Buchanan took every opportunity of assisting Mr. Brown at Calcutta, and was instrumental in creating a better understanding between Mr. Brown and his colleague, the other Presidency chaplain, in whose mind prejudices had existed against Mr. Brown and his ministrations at the Old Church, on account of his evangelical teaching.

Upon the arrival of Lord Wellesley as Governor-General, a great change took place in the religious tone of Calcutta. In 1800 the College of Fort William was founded, and Brown was appointed as first Provost of the College, and William Carey, the Baptist Missionary, was to be one of the Professors.

Speaking of his Sunday services and weekly lecture at the Old Church, Brown says, "I have a full Church, and several of the first rank in the settlement attend. Some of them know the truth as it is in Jesus, and feel the power of His Resurrection in their hearts."

Mr. Buchanan now came to live in Calcutta. He says "both Churches are generally full, particularly in the cold weather." Mr. Brown was at this time in a precarious state of health. After removing to the Presidency, Mr. Buchanan generally preached at one or other of the Churches in Calcutta once, and sometimes twice, on Sundays. He occasionally preached the weekly evening lecture at the Old Church which had been established there by Mr. Brown.

At this time Buchanan wrote: "The chief labour of the Churches is fast devolving on me. The congregations at the New Church are more numerous than those at St. Mary's" (the University Church at Cambridge), "more elegant, equally critical, and perhaps not less intelligent. At the Mission Church the congregations are chiefly composed of those who simply seek Christian instruction and edification."

Mrs. Buchanan went to England with their eldest girl in July 1801. In December, Mr. Buchanan writes, "Mr. Brown and his family have been on the river for their health for 5 or 6 weeks past. Our Churches during the cold season are more crowded than I ever saw them before. Even on Wednesday Evenings there are a great number and good is done. Some of the students attend on that evening. Their presence warms the heart of

old Mr. Obeck. They know and visit him. "How would Mr. Grant rejoice," he sometimes says, "to see these things."

Some structural alterations in the Church are referred to about this time. "The pillars are removed, and a number of additional seats made to accommodate the many who come."

A remarkable spirit of prayer was stirred up in 1802. Several united to keep a prayer-hour early on Sunday mornings, not meeting together for it, but agreeing on the same hour and the same petitions.

In December 1802 Brown issued a circular calling upon friends to subscribe to a fund, to be called the Evangelical Fund, for the support and extension of an Evangelical Ministry in India. "Let us begin ourselves. Let us not despise the day of small things." The circular was as follows:—

"CALCUTTA, FORT WILLIAM, IN BENGAL

December 1802

Whereas several serious Christians have of late been led to consider the state of the Christian Religion in this Country and particularly in this place; and it appearing to them to be a matter of duty both to seek the preservation of the knowledge of Christ where it is, and the diffusion of it where it is not; it has been agreed to raise a fund for the support of an Evangelical Ministry, the outlines of which are *viz* :—

1. That a monthly collection be made among those who love the Gospel, for its permanent support in this place.
2. That the interest only of the sums subscribed be applied to the maintenance of a preacher or preachers of the Gospel.
3. That the management of the Fund thus raised, be committed to three Trustees under certain regulations.
4. That the benefits of the Fund be not confined to any particular denomination of Christian ministers, but extended to all who hold evangelical principles.
5. That the monthly collections or donations be entered in a book (called Receipt book of the Evangelical fund) on the first Monday of each month and signed by the Trustee or Trustees present, which book shall be open for the inspection of those who contribute to the fund.
6. That a record book of Regulations and Proceedings be kept by the Trustees, who shall therein record every transaction respecting disbursements, election of Trustees etc.
7. That a Box to receive the contributions be sent every month to those in this place who desire it by the Trustees.
8. That Mr. Richard Burney, Mr. William Myers, and Mr. John Wood be nominated Trustees."

At a meeting held shortly afterwards it was felt that this was too wide a scope, and accordingly it was resolved to limit the object of the Fund to the support of a ministry, primarily at the Old Church, in connection with the Church of England, and upholding its Protestant Evangelical principles.

Mrs. Buchanan returned from England in August of this year.

In 1803 Brown took possession of his house, Aldeen House, at Serampur. The house is still standing very much as it was in those days, though the river has encroached somewhat, and the "lawn sloping down to the river" has now disappeared into the water.

In the grounds of the house, stood the old Hindu temple known now as "Henry Martyn's Pagoda" regarding which the following note is made in Brown's *Memoirs* :—"It was the Hindu temple of the idol Bullub, which had been evacuated and left by the Brahmins to the ravages of time and the encroaching river. Mr. Brown had it repaired and fitted up. It was appropriated as his family chapel and study, and sometimes to accommodate particular friends, among whom the Rev: Henry Martyn was its inhabitant for about 5 months that he was a guest, on his arrival."

From this house at Serampur, Brown would ride in or take a boat to Calcutta on Saturday afternoon, and conduct his services at St. John's and the Mission Church on Sunday, and return again to Serampur on Monday.

In June 1804 Brown wrote : "the Evangelical Fund is now considerable. It began among the praying few. Who of us imagined that so large a sum could be raised in so short a time?"

In 1804-5 the Church was again enlarged. "The increasing congregation required the space occupied by the pillars. They were first reduced in number" (probably in the alterations of 1803), and then reluctantly removed altogether, and other means of preserving the proportion, as well as enlarging the space, were resorted to by extensive bows thrown out in the centre, and galleries erected at the extremities. The extent of the bows appears from the north bow in which the choir now sit. The south bow was apparently of an equal size.

In January 1805 Mrs. Buchanan, on account of consumptive symptoms sailed for England with her two children, but died off St. Helena ; a tablet to her memory is placed in the grave of her sister, Mrs. Charlotte Sandys, in the North Park Street Cemetery, near the East wall of the Mission Cemetery.

During 1805 the Presidency Church of St. John's was closed for repairs, and the Governor-General and suite, with the whole congregation gladly availed themselves of the Old Mission Church. "And there Britain's Wellington has suffered the grateful tear stealing from the heart to adorn his manly cheek, on being reminded from the pulpit that it was God who covered his head in the day of battle. Ps. 140. 7 (on the occasion of

Brown's sermon at the Old Church on the anniversary of the battle of Assaye, preached before the Marquis Wellesley and his exalted brother).

Buchanan says, "we have had service at the Mission Church lately for the settlement. The punkahs make it very pleasant, but it was found too small for the auditory, many families going away every Sunday morning, seats being in general occupied an hour before service." A little later he says:—"On account of the increase of our congregations, we are about to have two morning services on Sundays—the first at 7 o'Clock in the Old Church, and the second at the usual hour of 10 at the New. This is very agreeable to a great majority. Only Mr. Brown and myself will officiate at the Old Church. We shall of course (at least I shall) continue to officiate as usual at the New".

On the 31st July the Marquis of Wellesley left, and Sir George Barlow became responsible for the Government. In his absence Mr. George Udny, a regular member and Trustee of the Old Church, officiated as Deputy Governor-General.

Writing in 1805 to the S.P.C.K. Brown says: "on my arrival in Bengal I found the Mission in a low and almost deserted state, and in 1787 the only remaining Missionary (Kiernander) was obliged to leave his station. From that period I began to officiate to the Mission Church congregation, and though I little expected at the time that my services would be needed more than one or two years, yet circumstances have led to their continuance through the whole term of my long residence here. The two Missionaries who were successively appointed by the Society to Calcutta, remained but a short time at their post, and I have been left to carry on the duty with such assistance as I could procure. But I have not been at any period left alone in this work. The chief aid which has been given me, I derived in former years from the Rev. John Owen, and in later years from the Rev. Claudius Buchanan, who since his settlement in Calcutta has regularly shared with me all the duties of the Mission congregation.

"It will be satisfactory to the Society to be informed that our mutual efforts have not been without success. We have seen the congregation continually increasing in numbers, respectability and seriousness. Through the pains, zeal and liberality of individuals, the Church has been now again considerably enlarged, entirely new furnished, and the premises extended at a cost of about £4000; and the public utility of the Church has obtained for it the favourable notice of Government, which has now extended to it the same protection and aid it affords to the Settlement Church, and has granted an annual amount to defray the current expenses of organist, servants, lights etc, besides the sum of rather more than £1800 to pay off all arrears incurred by needful repairs etc."

This grant has long since been withdrawn, though the Church still continues to draw Rs. 1,000 a year for current repairs.

In the same letter he refers to the formation of the *Evangelical Fund Trust*; "The zeal of the Mission congregation has been further manifested in raising a fund for the maintenance of a Minister, whenever he shall arrive: the fund goes on increasing by monthly contributions and affords a reasonable prospect of support and comfort to future Missionaries, a circumstance which cannot fail to engage the Society to renew their efforts on behalf of their Calcutta Mission."

In May 1806 Buchanan went on a tour in South India among the Syrian Churches. As he sailed out from the Sandheads he passed within sight of the vessel which brought Henry Martyn to India.

The Rev. HENRY MARTYN, senior wrangler and fellow of St. John's College Cambridge, arrived off Saugor Island on May 11th 1806. The vessel he was in, struck on the James and Mary sandbank, and one trembles to think of the loss to the Church and to the world that might have taken place had the vessel with all hands been lost like many another gallant ship upon that fateful shoal. On the morning of the 16th, Martyn arrived at daylight in Calcutta, and with some difficulty found Mr. Carey, Messrs. Brown and Buchanan being both absent from Calcutta.

The following are extracts from his diary:—

"With Carey I breakfasted, and joined him in worship which was in Bengalee for the advantage of a few servants, who sat however perfectly unmoved. I had engaged a boat for Serampur, when a letter from Mr. Brown found me out, and directed me to his house in the town, where I spent the rest of the day in solitude, and more comfortably and profitably than any time past. I enjoyed several solemn seasons in prayer and more lively impressions from God's word. Employed at times in writing to Mr. Simeon. Mr. Brown's *munshee*, a Brahmin of the name of B. Roy, came in and disputed with me two hours about the Gosp^c!

"May 17th. What I hear about my future destination has proved a trial to me today. Brown and Buchanan wish to keep me here as Chaplain at the Old Church. I have a great many reasons for not liking this; I almost think that to be prevented going among the heathen as a Missionary would break my heart. I have hitherto lived to little purpose, like a clod upon the earth. *Now let me burn out for God!*

"May 18th. So unwell with a cold and sore throat, that Mr. B. did not think it right for me to preach. Went with him at 10 in the morning to the New Church. Mr. Jeffries read one part, Mr. Limerick another of the service; Mr. Brown preached. At 8 in the evening went to the Old or Missionary Church where I ventured to read the service. Mr. Brown preached on

"Behold the Lamb of God." I was very agreeably surprized at the number, attention and apparent liveliness of the audience; and I may safely say that most of the young ministers that I know, would rejoice to come from England, if they knew how attractive every circumstance is respecting the Church. Stayed in the vestry some time conversing with Mr. Burney.

May 19th. We got a boat, and the stream in an hour and a half helped us up to Serampur, to Mr. Brown's house. In the cool of the evening we walked to the Mission house, a few hundred yards off, and I at last saw the place about which I have so long read with pleasure. I was introduced to all the Missionaries. We sat down 150 to tea at several long tables in an immense room. After this, there was evening service in another room adjoining, by Mr. Ward. Mr. Marshman then delivered his lecture on Grammar. My habitation assigned to me by Mr. B. is a Pagoda in his grounds on the edge of the river. Thither I retired at night, and really felt something like supernatural dread at being in a place once inhabited as it were by devils, but yet felt to be triumphantly joyful that the temple, where they were worshipped, was become Christ's Oratory. I prayed out aloud to my God, and the echoes returned from the vaulted roof."

Henry Martyn preached at the old Church on several occasions during his stay of 5 months in Lower Bengal. The following is a list of the texts from which he preached:—

- May 21, Thursday, 1 Cor. 1. 1. 3 "to a moderately large congregation."
" 24, Sunday, on 1 Tim. 1. 15.
June 1, " on the last 3 verses of St. Matthew.
" 4, Wednesday, "grieved that I could not speak with plainness and affection to the people." (Text not recorded).
" 8, preached in the morning at the New Church for the first time on 1 Cor. 1. 23, 24. The sermon excited no small ferment. (So much so, that the chaplains took to opposing the doctrines preached by Martyn, even from the pulpit).
" Preached at night at the Old Mission Church on 2 Cor. 5. 9.
" 29, at the Old Mission Church on Dan. 5. 23. 24.
July 6, on Jn. 4. 10.
" 13, Eph. 2. 1. 3.
" 16, Is. 63. 1.
" 27, Eph. 2. 4—7.
August 3, Jn. 1. 14.
" 6, "There were few people at Church and those not very attentive."
" 10, Jn 1. 29 under some difficulty as a heavy squall came on.
" 13, Matt. 3. 21. 23.
" 21, Is. 4. 3.

September 7. On Mark 8. 34, 35.

„ 14. 2, Cor. 4. 17, 18.

„ 21. Acts 12. The jailer's question.

„ At 3 o'clock he preached at the New Church from Rom, 3. 21-23, as Corrie said, "the most impressive and best composition I have ever heard."

October 1. On Eph. 2. 4.

„ 8. Is. 52. 7.

„ 12. "I took my leave of the saints in Calcutta in a Sermon on Acts 20. 32."

Henry Martyn went as Chaplain, first to Dinapore, and later to Cawnpore, and did not return to Calcutta until November 1810.

But before Martyn left, there arrived from England the Rev. DANIEL CORRIE, of Clare Hall Cambridge, another of Simeon's men. Corrie went to Cambridge in 1799. He was at first "disgusted" with what he heard of Simeon's preaching; but a change coming over his life, he began to be drawn to it. He was ordained to the curacy of Buckminster, and on September 26, 1806 he arrived in Calcutta as a chaplain.

He says in his diary:—"The sight of Calcutta afforded me great satisfaction. The approach to it was tedious, and I felt some impatience at the perversity of the boatmen. I walked up to the Church (St. John's), and enquired in vain for Martyn; went to Doughty's hotel. I took some refreshment, and was about to go forth in quest of Martyn, when a note arrived from him desiring me to go to the College (in the Fort). I set off immediately, and was received by him with the most lively demonstrations of joy. Here I was desired to take up my abode, and Mr. Brown, to whom I am indebted for my present entertainment, appears a sensible, determined, pious man."

Both Corrie, and Parson, another new Chaplain, took up their abode with Mr. Brown at Aldeen, and Martyn was their fellow-guest for a short time.

Corrie preached his first sermon in India at the Old Church on Sunday September 28 in the evening, from 2 Thess. 1-7-10, by which a young man was led to give up his sins.

On October 10th there was a meeting at the Pagoda to commend Martyn to the favour & protection of God, and on October 18th Martyn left for Dinapore.

On November 3 Corrie wrote:—"I have preached several times at the Old Church and once in the New. On December" 8 he too left Calcutta for his Chaplaincy at Chunar.

Buchanan returned from his tour in South India in March 1807. About this time he wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury on "Our hope of evangelising Asia," and mentioned the fact that Brown had lately witnessed the burning by Suttee of 8 women on one pyre on his way to church from his country house at Serampur.

In 1807 Buchanan's help is specially mentioned. Besides the Sunday services, mention is made of the Wednesday evening lecture, and also of *Cottage meetings* which are still maintained in the Parish to the present day.

Buchanan preached his last sermon at the Old Church in November 1807 on Phil. i. 27. He went home and settled in Yorkshire. Writing shortly afterwards from England, he says, "the organ for the Mission Church has been shipped; it is a noble one." This instrument lasted until 1880.

To Buchanan belongs the honour of suggesting the Ecclesiastical Establishment in India, and he narrowly escaped the distinction of being appointed as the first Bishop of Calcutta. Moreover his journal, his sermons and his writings did much in stirring up interest in the Missionary cause in England. He died on Feb: 9th 1815.

By this time the Old Church had become outwardly more attractive, for Mr. Brown took much interest in improving the appearance of the Church. "It was gradually fitted up in a manner suitable to the climate, abundantly lighted; supplied with an excellant organ, and with a handsome pulpit and desks, to correspond with the general elegant neatness of the whole effect. At length it formed altogether a most pleasing *coup d'oeil*, surprisingly contrasted with its somewhat revolting appearance before Mr. Brown compassed the improvements. By the time a stated chaplain (Mr. Thomason) was appointed to it, the congregation had increased to more than fourfold the number it could originally hold."

Another mention of the Evangelical Fund occurs also at this time:— "Another favourite pursuit which Mr. Brown had the happiness to see brought to bear fruit by his exertions and become eminently useful, was a Fund in aid of pious, serious ministers, to preach the gospel to the congregation of the Mission Church, since the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge desisted from supplying it. This fund for Mission ministers was instituted by Mr. Brown and was supported by him to a considerable annual amount; for although the plan of the contributions concealed the individual subscriptions, yet circumstances allowed it to be gathered that he gave to this object with his accustomed liberality, and with that alacrity and delight which always silenced mere personal considerations, whenever he discovered opportunities of lending to the Lord. The fees he accepted were appropriated to such objects; or he not unfrequently requested that such acknowledgements as were assigned to him, might be devoted instead to one or other of the above purposes." (The other favoured object being the

Charitable Fund). "When this fund for ministers was established, it was not known that Government would adopt the Mission Church by paying its stated expenses, and that a chaplain would be appointed to it on the footing and salary of the other chaplain of the Company's service. This having taken place, the fund raised has therefore not been required for its direct original purpose. It has nevertheless been made very useful to more than one clergyman whose assistance has been acceptable to the congregation ; and it has supplied a commodious parsonage, and smaller residence for the chaplain now attached to it : the former of these was built on ground given for the purpose by Mr. Brown, and in which Mr. Buchanan first, and since the other ministers officiating at the Church have successively resided rent free ; and it has been furnished and repeatedly enlarged at the expense of the Fund."

In 1807 Brown writes, "an old lady lately afflicted with sickness and yet very ill has by deed of gift made over to the Evangelical Fund in Company's paper Rs. 16,000. Is not that an event?" The fund is now worth 43,000 Rupees in cash, and an house etc. is valued at upwards of half a lac of Rupees. Thus has God prospered an undertaking which began in December 1802 as a grain of mustard seed."

On Christmas day 1807 the collection amounted to Rs. 7,325 for the Charitable Fund. (This was the inauguration of the Public fund now known as the District Charitable Society).

In September 1808 Corrie came down to Calcutta to meet his sister, after spending some weeks with Martyn at Dinapore, on account of the latter's weak state of health—During his stay in Calcutta, Corrie was the guest of Mr. Brown, and doubtless assisted again in preaching at the Mission Church. He returned to Chunar, spending Christmas with Martyn en route. In one of his letters he refers to Mr. Brown as follows :—

"I cannot tell you how much we are indebted to this man of God. He has been, and is, to us younger chaplains, a Father in Israel. His affection for us exceeds the affection of most fathers for their children. His letters convey the instruction of a Bishop with the tenderness of a brother. I trust we feel his worth, and value it aright."

In November 1808 the Rev. T. T. THOMASON arrived as the first chaplain appointed by the East India Company to the Old Church. Thereafter Brown ministered only occasionally at the Church. On Thomason's illness, Brown re-opened the Thursday evening lectures, about 1812.

Brown, as the first Secretary to the C. M. S. Corresponding Committee, had to deal with the first C. M. S. grants of £500, and later in 1811 an annual grant of £250 made to Bengal for translational work. The former was devoted to the Arabic Scriptures, and the latter for Translation into Indian vernaculars, and for Readers to read aloud the scriptures after the manner of the Hindoos, for all passers-by to stop and listen.

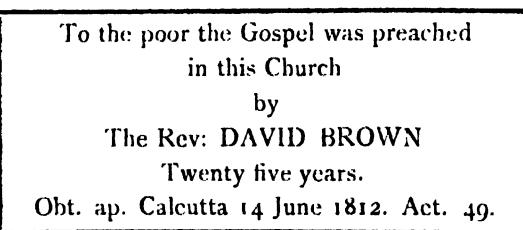
The Serampur fire in March 1812 destroyed Brown's report for the Bible Society, and other papers: but his now increasing sickness prevented him from further work.

On April 24 Corrie came down to Calcutta and stayed with Thomason at 10 Mission Row. Brown started on a sea voyage to Madras, on May 14, with Corrie; but returned from Saugor Island, as the ship ran aground at Saugor. The exposure thus entailed was too much for Brown, who grew worse and died on 14 June 1812 at the house of Mr. J. H. Harrington in Chowringhee. He was buried in South Park Street cemetery, where his tomb may be seen near the entrance, on the right as one enters.

Mr. Brown was twice married, and left 9 children surviving him. His son Charles Philip born in 1798 was in the Madras Civil Service, and was a good Telugu scholar. One daughter married Mr. Wilberforce Bird, a member of the Supreme Council, who lived where the Bishop's Palace now stands; she is mentioned in Corrie's life. Another daughter Jane, married Robert Merttins Bird; she died young, and was buried in the cemetery at Goruckpore. A miniature of Mr. Brown in the possession of his grandson, Canon Cowley Brown of Edinburgh, has at last supplied us with a portrait of him, and an enlargement of this now hangs on the wall of the Old Church Room.

It would indeed be difficult to over-estimate the splendid work done by "The Patriarch", (as Martyn and Corrie styled him), not only at the Old Church, but in the cause of Missions generally. The Old Church owes as much to him for maintaining its existence through a long critical period, as it does to Kiernander for founding it. For had Brown not held the congregation together by his gratuitous labours extending over 25 years, the history of the Old Church could never have been written.

The tablet to his memory in the Church is one of great simplicity:—



But a greater and yet more glorious fruit of his prayers was the Church Missionary Society with its world-wide Missions, which as we have seen owed its origin in the first instance to his suggestion and effort.

E. T. SANDYS.

[*To be continued*].

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Prospectus.

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THE GREAT BOOK ON INDIAN LAND REVENUE SETTLEMENTS.

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ALL AND EVERY MEMBER OF THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE.

THE FAITH REPORT

BY G. H. COOPER

Select Committee of the House of Commons

1812.

EAST INDIA COMPANY'S AFFAIRS.

Dated 26th July, 1812.

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By order of

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THE FIFTH REPORT OF THE SELECT COMMITTEE
OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS ON
THE AFFAIRS OF E. I. COY.



DATED JULY 28th, 1812.

A few Brief Observations on this Work.

The Select Committee appointed by the House of Commons to enquire into the present state of the affairs of the East India Company, and to report the same, as it shall appear to them, with their observations thereupon, to the House;—Have, pursuant to the Order of the House, examined the matters to them referred; and have agreed upon the following Report:—

CONTAINING

The Fifth Report from the Select Committee on the affairs of the East India Company appointed by the House of Commons, dated the 12th April, 1812.

Bengal:—The Permanent Settlement of Land Revenue, and Merchandise of *Sayer duties, Liquors, Salt, Opium Duties, Code of Regulations, Revenue Department, Civil Justice, Criminal Justice, the Police, &c., &c.*.

Presidency of Fort St. George:—View of the measures and systems adopted for the Administration of the Land Revenue &c., in the Ancient Territories down to the period when the Bengal System of Revenue Management was extended to those Territories, including *Taighirs, Home Farms, General View of the proceedings connected with the Extension of the Bengal System of Revenue Management to the territories of Fort St. George*; View of the progress of Revenue Administration in the modern possessions, given under the separate Heads of *Havelly Lands and Poligar or Zamindary Lands*, including *Specification of Modern Territory, Administration of Revenue in the Havelly Lands, Permanent Settlement of particular Districts, Landed Tenures, Change of System of Land Revenue Collection, Advantage and disadvantage of the different Modes of Revenue Management, Permanent Settlement of districts, Practical effect of Permanent Settlement, and Judicature and Police*. Minutes of Sir John Shore, 1789, and of Mr. C. N. White, 1793, respecting the Permanent Settlement of Bengal Land Revenue, etc., etc.; Analysis of the *Finances of Bengal* extracted from James Grant's Political Survey of British India and of the Northern Circars, 1786, John Hodgson's *Zamindary & Ryotwary Settlement* of 1806, Major-General Sir Thomas Munro's Report on the Permanent Settlement of the Ceded districts and many other Reports of the utmost value scarcely seen in print now-a-days.

This Great Book was published in the year 1812 and subsequently reprinted in England and in an abridged form in India in 1866 & 1883. None of these, however, is a faithful *verbatim* reprint. A single copy can be had, since the last 5 years, neither in England nor in India. In the nineties we used to come across one at least every year. A reprint-edition came to a Calcutta-auction in February last and was sold for Rs. 116. We have had numbers of enquiries about this work but could not comply with a single order. Under the circumstances we have been advised by our much esteemed Patron the Hon. Justice Sir Ashutosh Mookerji, Kt., Judge, High Court, Calcutta and Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta

University, to issue a faithful and unexpurgated *verbatim* reprint with Notes and a Full Index which are wanting in all previous editions. Besides, the existing Glossary by Charles Wilkins is to be incorporated in Bengali, Persian & Kaythi characters with English equivalents.

It is a Monumental work on which the present law of landlord and tenant is based and is of immense value for reference on Indian Revenue Administration containing the *Different Systems of Internal Government antecedent to Warren Hastings' Settlement of Land Revenue in 1784 and of the Subsequent Reforms by Lords Cornwallis & Bentinck* with Elaborate Appendices.

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